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The Materiality of *Tejano* Identity

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The Materiality of *Tejano* Identity

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Dedication

To Susan, Lars, and Rune

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The Materiality of *Tejano* Identity

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Scholars have examined *Tejano* identity through various theoretical and methodological lenses, but in general, all are interested in highlighting *Tejano* agency in the development of Texas. As diachronic examinations of identity, these investigations are often situated in terms of shifting ethnic identities, where a broad range of backgrounds came to share common concepts of *Tejano* identity through shared experiences and the dynamic context of the frontier. This dissertation builds upon this research and comprehensively evaluates*Tejano* identity through an examination of the archaeological record from a perspective based in theories of materiality. Like previous investigations, my dissertation is a diachronic study that conceptualizes *Tejano* identity as a changing ethnic identity, but as an examination rooted in material culture studies, my dissertation provides a new perspective into the role of *Tejano* agency in the development of region.

My dissertation asks what objects and what material practices were integral to the formation of *Tejano* identity and how did those practices change over time? To answer these questions, I compared the material worlds of various *Tejano* families and individuals from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and explored how objects were enmeshed in the work of subject formation over time. In my dissertation, I present the archaeological and archival data from three case study sites, the eighteenth century deposits at Spanish Governor's Palace (41BX179), the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century deposits at and the Delgado Cistern (41BX1753) and the Mexican Period Padrón-Cháves Midden and Siege of Béxar entrenchment (41BX1752) as well as a number of other related sites. The

comparative analyses reveal that local traditions, technologies, and practices contributed to the establishment of a distinct regional identity in the early eighteenth century. Many aspects of this identity endured into the nineteenth century, although other aspects of identification began to shift due to the introduction of new material practices through an illicit trade network that helped to forge a unified *Tejano* identity across frontier communities. Finally, the unprecedented amount of goods introduced to the frontier along with Anglo-American colonists during the Mexican Period exposed *Tejanos* to an array of new practices that fractured *Tejano* identity and reshaped the frontier.

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Chapter 1 : The Materiality of *Tejano* Identity

Introduction

San Antonio has served as the focal point for an untold number of scholarly investigations because of its significance at so many historical intersections. Because a great majority of these investigations were couched in terms of American History, the historical narrative of San Antonio has been traditionally dominated by the Alamo, Texas Independence, and the westward expansion of the United States. While often overshadowed by Davy Crockett and Jim Bowie, influential historians including Carlos Castañeda and Eugene Barker developed a scholarly tradition interested in the region's Spanish Colonial and Mexican pasts in the early twentieth century. Building on this tradition, borderlands scholars have more recently become interested in celebrating the roles that *Tejanos* have played in Texas' past, often emphasizing *Tejano* identity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (de la Teja 1995; Matovina 1995; Montejano 1987; Poyo and Hinojosa 1991; Ramos 2008; Tijerina 1994, among others). Likewise, since the late 1960s, a drastic increase in archaeological research devoted to Spanish Colonial and Mexican Period San Antonio has resulted in the collection of a wealth of material and archival data that reflect daily life in the *Tejano* villa. My dissertation aims to build upon the more recent historical investigations by incorporating the archaeological record and evaluating the materiality of *Tejano* identity in San Antonio.

The more recent historical investigations into *Tejano* identity are theoretically situated in terms of shifting ethnic identities, where a broad range of ethnic and racial backgrounds came to share a common *Tejano* identity through shared experiences on the frontier (de la Teja 1995; Matovina 1995; Poyo and Hinojosa 1991 and Tijerina 1994). Different authors have focused on a range of themes to explore the process in which a *Tejano* ethnic identity was formed, including shared cultural and economic values (de la Teja 1995), enduring political and social institutions (Tijerina 1994), a shared religious and cultural heritage (Matovina 1995), and interaction and shifts in nationalism (Monte*j*ano

1987 and Ramos 2008). My dissertation is also interested in *Tejano* identity and I view ethnicity as a dynamic concept, but I am also interested in the material conditions and practices of daily life that helped to shape that identity. Similar to previous historical investigations, I argue that as a frontier community, San Antonio provided the context for settlers with diverse backgrounds to form a unified *Tejano* identity based on unique shared experiences that were in turn objectified by distinct cultural practices. The concept of materiality is also integral to my thesis, which suggests that the interrelationships between objects and subjects are the bases for the practices that produce and reproduce material worlds (Miller 2005: 5). Objects cannot be disentangled from processes of subject formation, and instead they are major contributors in structuring relationships between agents and social structures, that in turn, construct and embody material worlds as objectifications of distinct cultural practices. In short, my dissertation asks: What material practices were significant to *Tejano* identity formation in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and how did they change over time?

Through the lens of materiality, the archaeological record provides a new vantage point to explore the dynamism of *Tejano* ethnicity. In this investigation I present and compare evidence from three archaeological sites that span the Colonial Era through the Mexican Period (1730s-1830s) and are located around San Antonio's Main and Military Plazas (Figures 1-1 and 1-2). The Spanish Governor's Palace (41BX179), The Delgado Cistern (41BX1753), and the Padrón-Cháves Midden and Siege of *Béxar* entrenchment (41BX1752) represent daily life in some of the *Béxar's* most enduring households during a period defined by both stability and revolution. Paired with the archival record, the data from these three sites provide insight into the everyday material practices of specific agents during a period in which *Tejanos* were negotiating perceptions of their own identity as they were entangled in local, regional, national, and transnational relationships significant to the future of their community. A comparative analysis of these three sites affords the opportunity to evaluate changes in material culture

over time as well as the practices integral to the formation and reformation of a shared identity over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

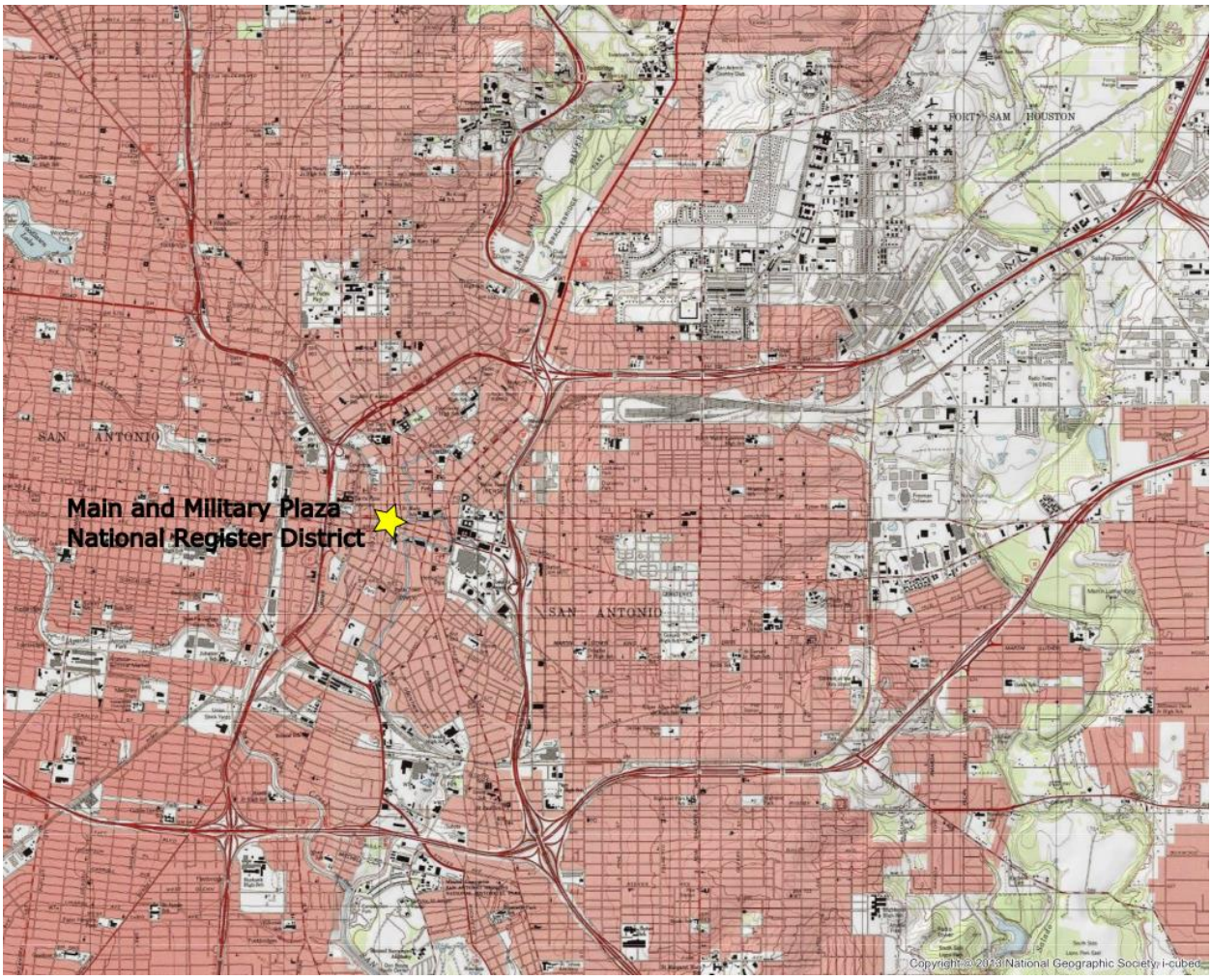

Figure 1-1: Main and Military Plazas.

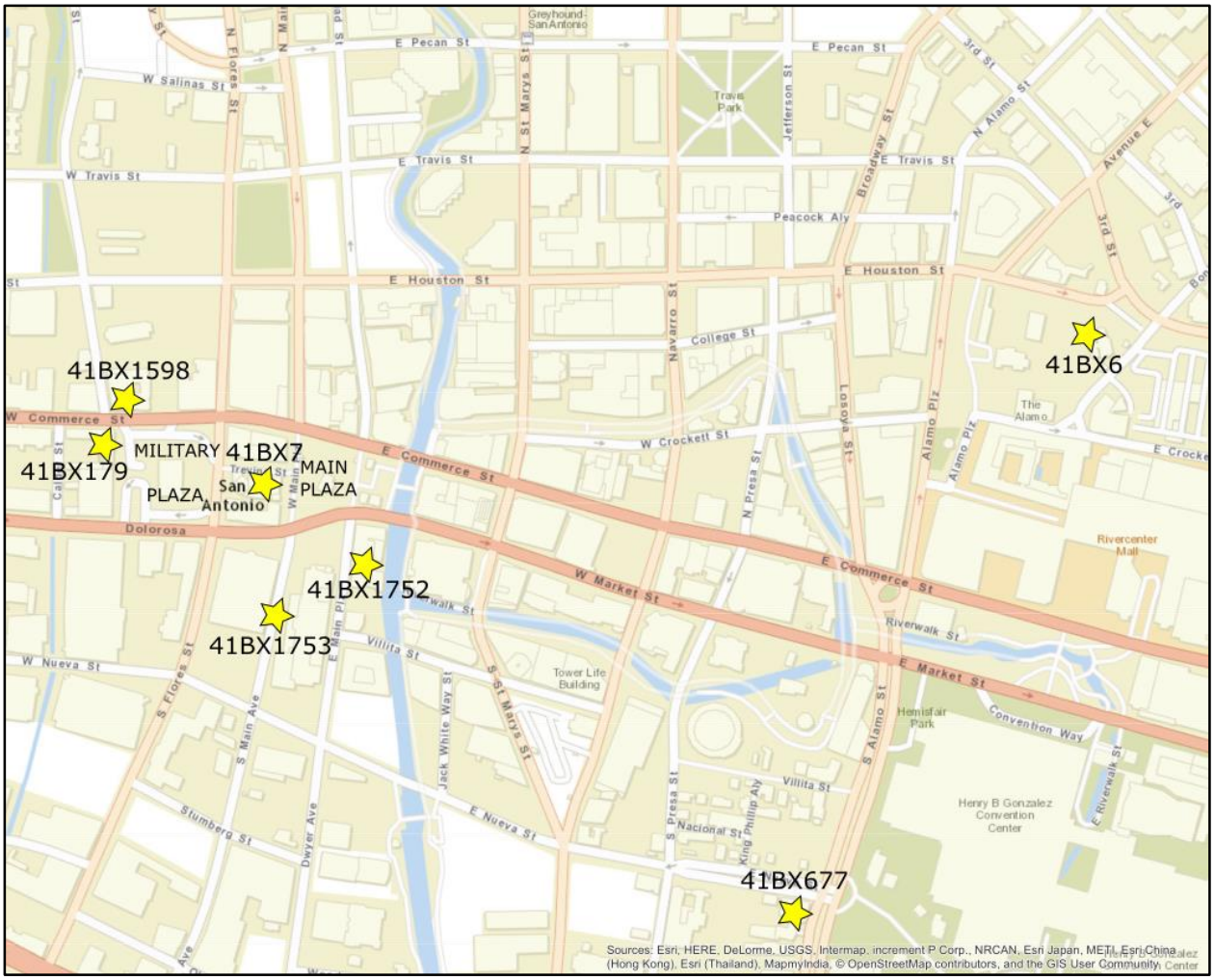

Figure 1-2: Locations of Case Study Sites.

Béxareños and *Tejanos*

Tejano(*a*) is a term generally used to describe Texans of Hispanic descent or Mexican heritage from the settlement period in the eighteenth century through the present (de la Teja ed. 2010: xiii). However, the term *Tejano* was not used until 1824 when Miguel Ramos Arizpe, author of the Mexican Constitution, referred to the occupants of Texas as *Tejanos* in correspondence with *Béxar*'s *ayuntamiento* (Benavides 2015). Historically, Hispanic Texans never used the term, although in a few cases, citizens of San Antonio and Goliad referred to themselves as *Tejanos* to differentiate themselves from non-Hispanic Texians just prior to and during the Texas War of Independence (ibid.). Similarly,

Béxareño(*a*), a term used to describe the *Tejano* residents of San Antonio de *Béxar*, was not a term widely used by the citizens of the villa to describe themselves until later in the mid nineteenth century. Instead *Tejano* and *Béxareño* are terms that gained traction among a group of borderlands scholars, predominately historians, in the last thirty or forty years in an attempt to incorporate and highlight Texas' Hispanic heritage.

While the terminology is largely anachronistic, *Tejanos* and *Béxareños* are useful terms thatdescribe distinct ethnic and regional identities that were forged in the late eighteenth century through shared frontier experiences, a common language, mutual economic and political interests, and a religious and cultural heritage. Like most *Tejanos, Béxar's* original settlers, or *pobladores* came from diverse backgrounds. The original presidio setters, or *Agregados,* were predominately soldiers and their families made up of *criollos, mestizos,* and descendants of Tlascalan Indians from Coahuila and other interior provinces. According to Spanish law these colonists could settle the land, but they could not receive land grants or control the city government (Poyo and Hinojosa 1991: 36). As a result, a group of Canary Islanders, or *Isleños* was recruited to *Béxar* as settlers, as they represented the "White" settlers who could assume control of the *cabildo* and obtain legal land grants (Menchaca 2001: 110). Immediately upon arriving in San Antonio, the Canary Islanders were given a title of low level nobility, *hijos d' algo,* the irrigable land that the presidial settlers had farmed for beforehand, control of the city government, and other special rights associated with *hijos d' algo*. More important, the Canary Islanders installed a social hierarchy that placed *Isleños* in control of the only available resources, land and water.

The *Isleño* political and economic monopoly created in the first decade after their arrival was complimented by an initial period of social exclusivity. However, the realities of frontier life created a dependency on the presidio and the missions that resulted in a period defined by interaction and

integration between the *Isleño* and presidial families (Poyo and Hinojosa 1991: 46). The social integration among the *Isleños* and the presidial families was accompanied by shared economic, political, and cultural values shaped by the conditions of frontier. Due to the presence of hostile indigenous groups, primarily the Apache before 1750 and the Comanche thereafter, the community struggled to attract new settlers during the initial years of settlement. The economic and social realities of the relatively isolated early frontier community eased these tensions, and by the mid-eighteenth century, the initial *Isleño* monopoly over the settlement and its resources had become more accommodating to the military settlers through the necessities of intermarriage and economic and political integration. The shared economic interests and familial alliances established between the prominent military families and the *Isleños* during the emergence of the private ranching economy in the second half of the eighteenth century were extremely influential in shaping the social character of *Béxar*. The interactions and eventual interdependence between these two groups during the eighteenth century blurred the lines between *Isleño* and *Agregado* identities and created a social hierarchy where *Béxareño* status was based on their familial ties to the *pobladores* and wealth (ibid.: 58).

Common interests, hardships, and enemies engendered a sense of autonomy and self-sufficiency and led to the coalescence of the *Béxareño* community. These conditions were not unique to San Antonio, and were generally shared by all communities on the frontier. However, the reorganization of Texas in the 1770s shifted Spain's interests and population base from East Texas to Central Texas and increased *Béxar*'s importance on the frontier. As a result, the distinct community of *pobladores* that came together in the first half of the eighteenth century witnessed their influence and wealth expand in the second half, a time when the villa was growing and becoming more diverse. These elite *Béxarenos* dominated the northern frontier's political and economic expansion in the late eighteenth century and became the representatives of the broader regional *Tejano* identity during the nineteenth century.

The nineteenth century brought new circumstances to the frontier that provided *Tejanos* with a new set of challenges and conditions significant to how they viewed themselves and their loyalties. After the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, *Tejanos* found themselves between an aggressive Anglo-American presence to the east and a deteriorating Spanish presence in Mexico. During the course of the Mexican War of Independence, which lasted over a decade and manifested itself in two separate revolts in south Central Texas, *Tejanos* were forced to change the perceptions of their regional and national identities. While *Tejanos* were not unified in terms of national allegiances during the Mexican War of Independence, many *Tejano* cultural structures and institutions persisted. Similarly, *Tejanos'* sense of autonomy remained strident during the revolution, and increased interaction with Anglo-Americans fostered new economic opportunities that became integral to reshaping *Tejano* identities.

During Mexican sovereignty, *Tejano*s became even more of an intermediary group caught between Mexico and the United States, and *Tejano* culture and economic interests changed to reflect their place between the two nations. *Tejano*s tried to pursue regional autonomy in the face of centralizing initiatives by the new federalist republic by maintaining their town council, forming a political coalition with Coahuila, and promoting an economic vision that heavily relied on Anglo colonization. *Tejanos'* support of the Anglo colonization of Texas irrevocably changed the demographic make-up of the region, and by the Texas War of Independence *Tejanos* were becoming a minority in Texas. *Tejanos* made significant accommodations for the Anglo-Americans and largely integrated the colonists into a *Tejano* community. With this came changes to *Tejano* identity, and while the foundations of their frontier heritage persisted, *Tejanos'* position as mediators between Mexican and Anglo interests changed economic, political, social and religious conditions in the regions and reshaped *Tejano* identity.

This concept of a grounded, yet shifting *Tejano* identity is the focus of my dissertation. The regional identity in San Antonio and Texas in the eighteenth century was different from that in the early nineteenth century, and the same can be said of *Tejano* identity during the Mexican Period and at the outset of the Texas War of Independence. Nonetheless, many of the foundational characteristics of *Tejano* identity persisted though these periods and beyond. In fact, the persistence of many of the attributes of what has been determined to be *Tejano* identity into the modern era is what makes this dissertation research significant. Texas' roots are based in the sociocultural institutions and shared experiences that shaped *Tejano* identity, and as a research project that explores the material practices that were significant to *Tejano* identity formation, my dissertation provides an overlooked perspective into the region's cultural heritage.

Research Questions

Historians and anthropologists have examined *Tejano* identity through various theoretical and methodological lenses, but in general, all are interested in highlighting *Tejano* agency in the development of Texas. As diachronic examinations of identity, these investigations are often situated in terms of shifting ethnic identities, where a broad range of ethnic and racial backgrounds came to share common concepts of *Tejano* identity through shared experiences and the dynamic context of the frontier. However, despite an extensive material record, archaeologists have contributed very little to the discussion of *Tejano* identity. This dissertation attempts to comprehensively evaluate *Tejano* identity through an examination of the archaeological record from a perspective based in theories of materiality. Like previous investigations, my dissertation is also a diachronic analysis that conceptualizes *Tejano* identity as a changing ethnic identity, but as an examination rooted in material culture studies, my dissertation provides a new perspective into the role of *Tejano* agency in the development of region.

The primary objective of this dissertation is to compare the material worlds of various *Tejano* families and individuals from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and explore how objects are

enmeshed in the work of subject formation (Meskell 2002: 2). Theories of materiality come from the recognition that there is an unnatural division between agents and objects where objects cannot be disentangled from processes of subject formation, and instead, objects are major contributors in structuring relationships between agents and social structures, that in turn, construct and embody material worlds as objectifications of distinct cultural practices. In this sense, artifacts and the material world should speak for themselves; they are not symbolic of ethnicity or social class, and direct archaeological evidence of *Tejano* identity is not what I am proposing. Instead I am interested in how objects worked within relationships with agents, social structures, and the greater social landscape to organize social power and become the materializations of the community's identity. In short my dissertation asks: What objects and what material practices were integral to *Tejano* identity and how did those material practices change over time?

My research reveals that local traditions, technologies, and practices contributed to the establishment of a distinct regional *Tejano* identity in the early eighteenth century. Many aspects of this identity endured into the nineteenth century, although other aspects of identification began to shift due to the introduction of new material practices through an illicit trade network that also helped to forge a unified *Tejano* identity across frontier communities. Finally, the unprecedented amount of goods introduced to the frontier along with Anglo-American colonists during the Mexican Period exposed *Tejanos* to an array of new practices that fractured *Tejano* identity and reshaped the frontier.

Like much of the research interested in *Tejano* identity, San Antonio serves as my study area. My interest in San Antonio stems from my role as the project archaeologist during the Main Plaza Redevelopment Project. In 2007 I led the State Antiquities Landmark (SAL) eligibility testing and data recovery at two of the three case study sites that serve as the focus of this dissertation, the Padrón-Cháves Midden and Siege of *Béxar* entrenchment (41BX1752) and the Delgado Cistern (41BX1753; Figure 1-3;

Hanson 2010; 2016). The third site examined in my dissertation is the Spanish Governor's Palace (41BX179) located on the Plaza de Armas, and investigated by archaeologists at the University of Texas at San Antonio Center for Archaeological Research (UTSA-CAR) in 1976 and again in 1996. These three sites represent excellent archaeological evidence of the *Tejano* community from settlement through the Mexican Period and are associated with the homes of prominent *Béxareño* families, all of which are the descendants of the original presidial and Canary Islander settlers.

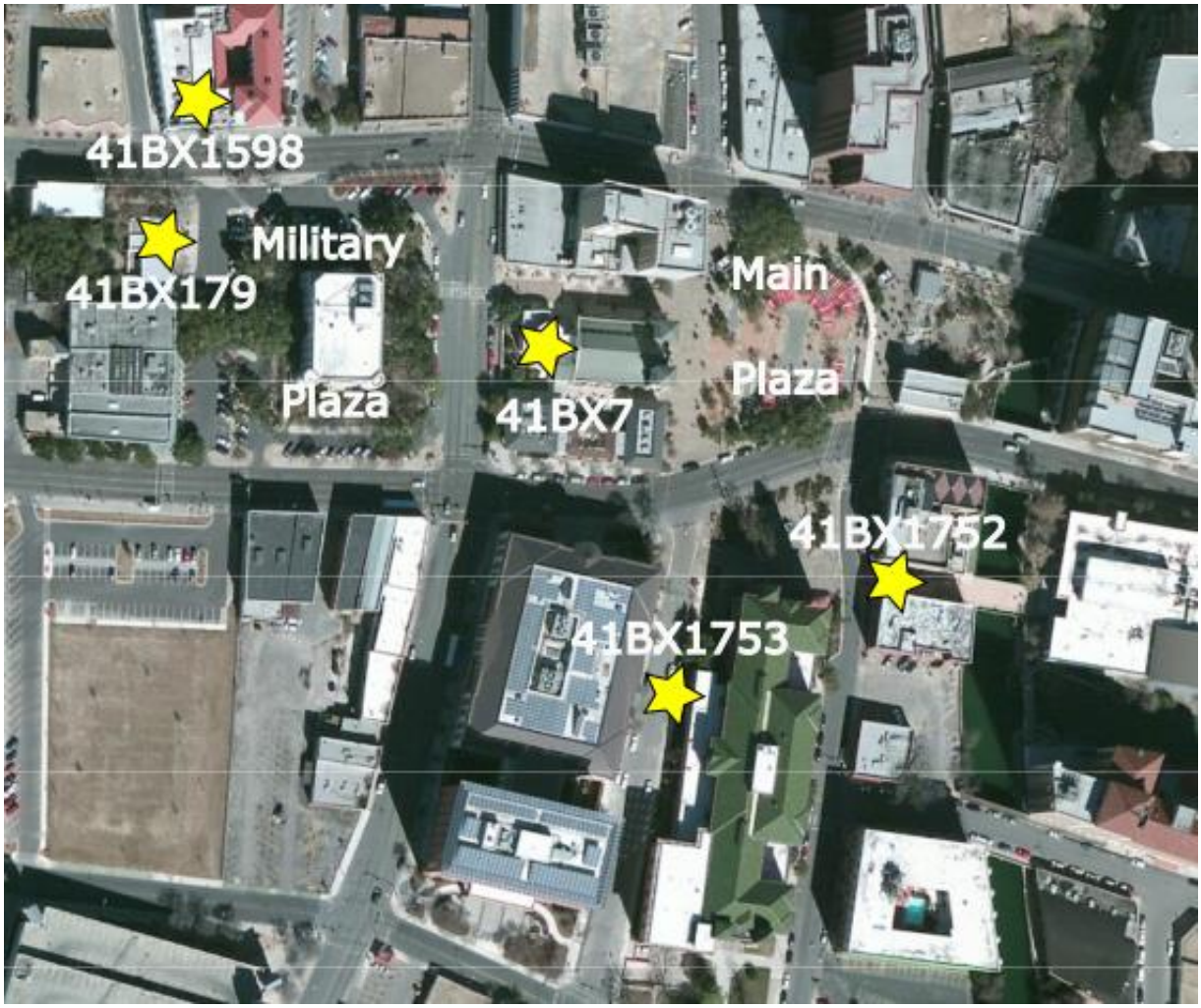

Figure 1-3: Case Study Sites on Main and Military Plazas.

The Spanish Governor's Palace (41BX179), which still exists today, was never actually the Spanish Governor's house, although prominent military families including the Urrutia, Menchaca, and Pérez families occupied the property during the eighteenth century. The archaeological investigations at the site provide evidence of occupation on the Military Plaza during the early to mid-eighteenth century and suggest that early life at the Presidio relied heavily on local resources and regional innovations. The Delgado Cistern (41BX1753) is one of five features located on a tract on the south side of the Main Plaza granted to the Delgado family, an original *Isleño* family. The cistern feature at 41BX1753 is the earliest of the five features located at the site and provides evidence of Clemente Delgado's occupation of the tract during the second half of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, and represents the stability and dynamism of the period leading up to, and including the Mexican War of Independence. The Padrón-Cháves Midden and Siege of *Béxar* entrenchment (41BX1752) is located at the southwest corner of the Main Plaza and is a large domestic midden feature associated with an *Isleño* descendant, Maria Juana Francisca Padrón and her husband, Francisco Xavier Cháves, an interpreter in the presidial company from Atrisco, New Mexico. Evidence also suggests that the site was the location of a Mexican entrenchment associated with General Martín Perfecto de Cos' occupation of the Main Plaza during the Siege of *Béxar* in 1835. Unlike the Delgado Cistern, the evidence from 41BX1752 represents a period of change and revolution that defined the Mexican Period and was disrupted by the Texas War of Independence.

My presentation of these archaeological sites, their collections, and their associated archival histories provides a survey of the material conditions of a *Tejano* community over a period when *Tejano* identity was being shaped and reshaped. A comparative analysis of these data provides the opportunity to gain insights into the objects and material practices that were integral to the process of *Tejano* identity formation over time. With that said, these are not the only sites and collections in San Antonio from these periods that are relevant to this study, and in fact there are other recorded sites on the Main and Military Plazas and around the community that share many of the same characteristics as the three focus sites.

Because all sites found in San Antonio are located within well-developed parts of the city, and all of the investigations were done under the auspices of cultural resource management (CRM) projects, the specificities of each site and their collections are highly variable. In other words, not all of the collections were created equally, and as result I have decided to focus on these three particular case study sites because they represent three distinct time periods in the history of the community and comparisons between these three sites afford an opportunity for a diachronic analysis. Nonetheless, while the data will not be presented in as much detail as that from the three focus sites, various other archaeological sites will be discussed throughout this dissertation to lend support to the comparative analyses. These sites include the San Fernando Cathedral (41BX7), the Núñez-Arocha Middens (41BX1598), the Alamo Plaza (41BX6), and La Villita (41BX677) (Figure 1-2 and Figure 1-3).

Methodology

As suggested above, my dissertation is the culmination of numerous investigations. I led the archaeological investigations, artifact analysis, archival research, and wrote the technical report for 41BX1752 and 41BX1753 (Hanson 2016). I developed my dissertation project from this research and the data I present in Chapters 6 and 7 is an extension of this work. The field methods that we utlitzed at theses sites are discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, but in both cases we originally excavated test units to evaluate the features at 41BX1752 and 41BX1753 for SAL eligibility and subsequently performed data recovery excavations at both sites that included the excavation of more units, test columns, and shovel tests as well as the mechanical removal of the features to ensure 100 percent data recovery.

The original artifact analysis for the 41BX1752 and 41BX1753 collections included analysis of all diagnostic artifacts and of a 30 percent sample of redundant and nondiagnostic artifacts collected from unit and test column excavations. We categorized ceramics by type and decoration using *A Guide to Ceramics from Spanish Colonial Sites in Texa*s (Fox and Ulrich 2008), and the digital type collection on the Florida Museum of Natural History website (Florida Museum of Natural History 2009). We

categorized glass artifacts according to use context, type, and formation processes primarily using the Bureau of Land Management/Society for Historical Archaeology (BLM/SHA) *Historic Glass Bottle Identification and Information* website (Lindsey 2010). Metal artifacts were identified when sufficiently complete and were counted and weighed. Diagnostic lithic artifacts were analyzed, and nondiagnostic lithic artifacts were counted and weighed. Building materials were described, counted, and weighed, but not analyzed further. Faunal bone was weighed, the remains were analyzed using a comparative collection housed at Atkins, and were categorized to the lowest taxonomic level ascertainable based on specimen completeness.

For my dissertation research I expanded on this preliminary analysis and developed a methodology that heavily utilized comparative collections housed at CAR. As mentioned, the reason I chose these specific case study sites is because they afford the opportunity for a dichronic analysis of the material culture in San Antonio. Of course I did not recognize this opportunity until after I examined a number of collections at CAR, many of which are not included in my dissertation. My compartative analyses at CAR began with a review and reevaluation of site reports, artifact catalogs and inventories, field notes, and the original analysts' notes (when available) for each site. I followed this effort with an examination of each collection by artifact category and photo documenting relevant objects. Although my original research determined that the 41BX1752 and 41BX1753 collections likely dated to a period in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it was through this comparative analysis at CAR that I began to refine the chronology of these sites and the other case study sites. Specifically, I focused on the ceramic assemblages and utilized Stanley South's Mean Ceramic Date methodology to define and refine the chronological markers of each assemblage. As a result of this effort I determined that the 41BX179 collections represented an early-to-mid eighteenth century, the collections from the cistern at 41BX1753 dated to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and the 41BX1752 collection dated to the early nineteenth century through the Mexican Period. In this process I established the

framework for a diachronic comparative analysis that I expanded upon through reevaluations and indepth analyses of the investigations and collections associated with 41BX179, 41BX6, 41BX7, 41BX677 and 41BX1598.

Similar to the archaeological investigations and artifact analysis, the archival research for 41BX1752 and 41BX1753 presented in Chapters 6 and 7 is an expansion of the research I did for the Main Plaza Renovation Project, and the 41BX179 archival research presented in Chapter 5 is an extension of the archival work performed by Anne Fox for the original site reports (Fox 1977 and Fox 1997). Like the artifact analyses, the archival research presented in these chapters aims to define the respective sites' chronologies through property and family histories. I consulted deed records, maps, census data, probate records, and other relevant records to determine property ownership history and land-use patterns. Similarly, I examined resources in the Bexar Archives, the Spanish Archives at the Bexar County Courthouse, the City of San Antonio Public Works, the Daughters of the Republic of Texas Library and Archives, the San Antonio Public Library, and the libraries at The University of Texas at Austin to investigate family histories. Furthermore, I reviewed available military records, firsthand descriptions and accounts, maps, and secondary sources relevant to the Siege of Béxar to correlate Mexican Army fortification locations at the Main Plaza in the archival record with the features discovered at 41BX1752. I also researched materials relating to eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries military strategy to formulate a comparative analysis between other documented entrenchment features and the dimensions and nature of the entrenchment feature at 41BX1752.

Archival research also serves as the foundation for my analysis of the frontier market presented in Chapter 8. For this study I primarily relied on records from the Bexar Archives and utilized the Bexar Archives index to identify records relevant to supply, production, and trade in the region. I typically consulted both the original and translated records if available. Although most of the archival research presented in Chapter 8 involved identifying relevant records based on descriptions in the index, I

conducted a more systematic survey of the index for my analysis of contraband trade in the second half of the chapter. This systematic survey entailed a keyword search of the index for the words contraband, smuggling, and illicit trade. Once I identified the entries in the index with these keywords I went to the original records and searched for inventories of contraband goods or cases in which contraband goods were identified through correspondence and located 12 inventories of seized contraband goods from 1754 through 1834.

Organization of the Dissertation

My dissertation is divided into three sections and nine chapters. Chapter 2 presents the historical background of the region. Chapter 3 summarizes previous research in ethnicity and *Tejano* identity, and clarifies how my research conceptualizes ethnic identity through materiality. Chapter 4 concludes the first section and elucidates my theoretical footing in materiality through an analysis of San Antonio's acequia system and the implications it had to the community and subject formation.

Section 2 presents the focus sites of the comparative study in detail and includes a summary of the archival histories, archaeological investigations, and artifact collections from each site. Chapter 5 presents the data from the Spanish Governor's Palace (41BX179), Chapter 6 presents the same information from the Delgado Cistern (41BX1753) and Chapter 7 presents the data from the Padrón-Cháves midden and Siege of *Béxar* entrenchment (41BX1752).

Section 3 provides a comparative analysis of the case study sites through an evaluation of the frontier market economy and all of its implications. Chapter 8 investigates this idea of the frontier market at various temporal and spatial scales and interrogates aspects of the material record within these contexts. Following the archaeological data, this chapter examines facets of supply, production, and trade in *Béxar* and focuses on frontier goods to elucidate some of the material practices that were

integral to shaping *Tejano* identity. Chapter 9 is composed of the summary conclusions and suggestions for future work.

Chapter 2 : *Tejanos* in Context

Settlement

Although Europeans were present in the region as early as the early sixteenth century, and while the establishment of El Paso in 1680 is the earliest Spanish settlement in present-day Texas, the colonization of Texas did not begin in earnest until 1685 when René-Robert Cavelier de La Salle established Fort St. Louis at present-day Matagorda Bay. La Salle's fort settlement was short lived, but the French presence in Texas prompted Spain to establish settlements on the frontier in an effort to protect its mining interests in Northern Mexico. The earliest buffer settlements were organized according to the Spanish mission system. Crown supported Franciscans established mission complexes throughout the region with the intent of converting and socializing local natives to become loyal Catholic citizens who could both populate and protect the frontier for Spain. Presidios or military outposts accompanied the missions and were charged with protecting the missions from hostile indigenous groups and from other threats, and were manned by soldiers primarily from other frontier settlements in Northern Mexico. The pueblos, the civilian settlements associated with the presidio, served as the third component to the Spanish mission settlement system and were occupied by the presidial soldiers' families and retired soldiers as well as by merchants and craftspeople who recognized economic opportunity in the missions. All colonial communities in Texas were at least initially comprised of these basic groups of people, but the dual strategy of colonization through providing defense for a vast frontier led to the development of discrete regional settlements in east, central, and south Texas. While these settlements were geographically separated and each unique in their own right, interaction between the communities and the commonalities of frontier life unified the settlements as *Tejano* communities.

The earliest effort to establish missions in the region occurred along the Spanish-French borderlands in East Texas among the Hasinai Caddo in the 1690s with Mission Santísimo Nombre de Maria and the aptly named San Francisco de los Tejas both in the present-day Nacogdoches area (Figure 2-1;

Chipman and Joseph 2010: 95[1]). These early East Texas missions were abandoned shortly after they were established based on the Caddo's reluctance to leave established agricultural lifestyles for mission life. It was not until the first decade of the eighteenth century that Spain founded a permanent presence in Texas with the establishment of three missions and a presidio among the hunter-gather groups along the Rio Grande River Valley (Wade 2008: 218). France's westward expansion into Louisiana with the founding of Natchitoches in 1714 provided the impetus for Spain to establish a presence among the Hasinai in East Texas for a second time with the establishment of five missions and a presidio in the Nacogdoches area in 1716 and 1717 as well as Mission San Miguel de los Adaes near Natchitoches in 1717 (Chipman and Joseph 2010: 112-113). Like the original missions, the second attempt at settlement in East Texas in the 1720s failed among the agriculturalist Caddo groups, but by this point, the Caddo had established strong trade relationships with the French. In a response to the failing East Texas missions, the newly appointed governor of Coahuila y Texas, Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo led an expedition to the region in 1721 to reestablish the six missions and also established Presidio Nuestra Señora del Pilar between Mission Los Adaes and Natchitoches as the frontline defense along the Spanish-French borderlands (ibid.: 122). The settlement that grew around the presidio, commonly referred to as Los Adaes after the nearby mission, served as the first permanent Spanish presence in East Texas and was designated as the capital of Spanish Texas in 1729. Ironically, the French outpost at Natchitoches was the primary reason for the success of Los Adaes as the settlement's distance from Mexico City essentially made the presidio dependent on the French and the Caddoan peoples for supplies and other basic needs (Galán 2008: 197).

In 1718 Aguayo's predecessor, Don Martín de Alarcón founded Presidio San Antonio de *Béxar* in the San Antonio River Valley to serve as an outpost between the East Texas missions and those along the Rio Grande (Chipman and Joseph 2010: 121). Fr. Antonio de San Buenaventura y Olivares accompanied

[1] Chipman and Jospeh, 2010 is cited throughout my dissertation, but researchers should refer to the original edition, Chipman, 1992.

Alarcón along with what remained of the Rio Grande Mission, San Francisco Solano. Olivares, the neophytes from Solano and the hunter-gather groups of Central Texas established Mission San Antonio de Valero (Wade 2008: 219-220). Two years later, and shortly before his expedition to East Texas, Aguayo sanctioned the establishment of a second San Antonio mission, Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, named in his honor and located approximately five miles south of Mission Valero on the San Antonio River. Upon returning to San Antonio from the East Texas expedition, Aguayo relocated the presidio to a new location on the west side of the San Antonio River, east of San Pedro Creek, in the location that became the Military Plaza. Shortly after, Aguayo established Presidio Nuestra Señora de Loreto and Mission Espíiriítu Santo de Zúñiga, commonly referred to as La Bahía, at the site of La Salle's Fort St. Louis on Garcitas Creek near Matagorda Bay (Chipman and Joseph 2010: 124).

The settlers who came with the Alarcón and Aguayo expeditions served as the population base for the three settlement regions. Aguayo brought 500 men from Coahuila to repopulate East Texas and La Bahía, a large number of whom were Indians, *mestizos,* and Black (Chipman and Joseph 2010: 120; Menchaca 2001: 106). Alarcón brought a group of 72 settlers from Coahuila and Nuevo León that was composed of soldiers, their families, and a few artisans to establish the presidio in Central Texas while Fr. Olivares brought an additional 25 soldiers from Coahuila, two missionaries, and five Indians from Mission Solano (Chipman and Joseph 2010: 117; de la Teja 1991: 29). Although there were significantly less in number, those who arrived in Central Texas with Alarcón and Fr. Olivares constituted a group similar to Aguayo's in that they were products of the northern frontier and were *mulattos,* Indians, or some other permutation of the Spanish *casta* system (Menchaca 2001: 103). Furthermore, many of the failures in East Texas led some early settlers to find refuge in *Béxar*, while proximity to *Béxar* and lack of resources at La Bahia kept the communities connected during the first few decades of settlement.

Béxareños

Plans to establish civilian settlements in Texas began as early as 1718 when it was first suggested to King Phillip V that 200 families from the Canary Islands and Galicia should be recruited to permanently settle Texas (Chipman and Joseph 2010: 136). Initially, the King saw the plan to ship settlers to New Spain as an unnecessary expense because he thought families from the frontier should be recruited as settlers. However, by the early 1720s this line of reasoning began to change and instead of being viewed as an unnecessary expense, civilian settlers who would defend the frontier out of self-interest, came to be viewed as a cost effective way of maintaining the frontier (ibid.: 136). Furthermore, *casta*-based Spanish law preferred *peninsular* settlers over those already on the frontier because, as Spanish-born settlers (*Españoles*) they could hold positions on the *cabildo* (town council), and in effect, govern the frontier population primarily composed of *criollos* and Non-white *mestizos* and *mulattos* (Menchaca 2001: 110). Accordingly, as an incentive to recruit potential settlers, the Crown promised free passage to New Spain, all expenses paid for a full year, land grants, the title of *Hijos d'algo* (*hidalgos,* a low level title of nobility), and control of the *cabildo.*

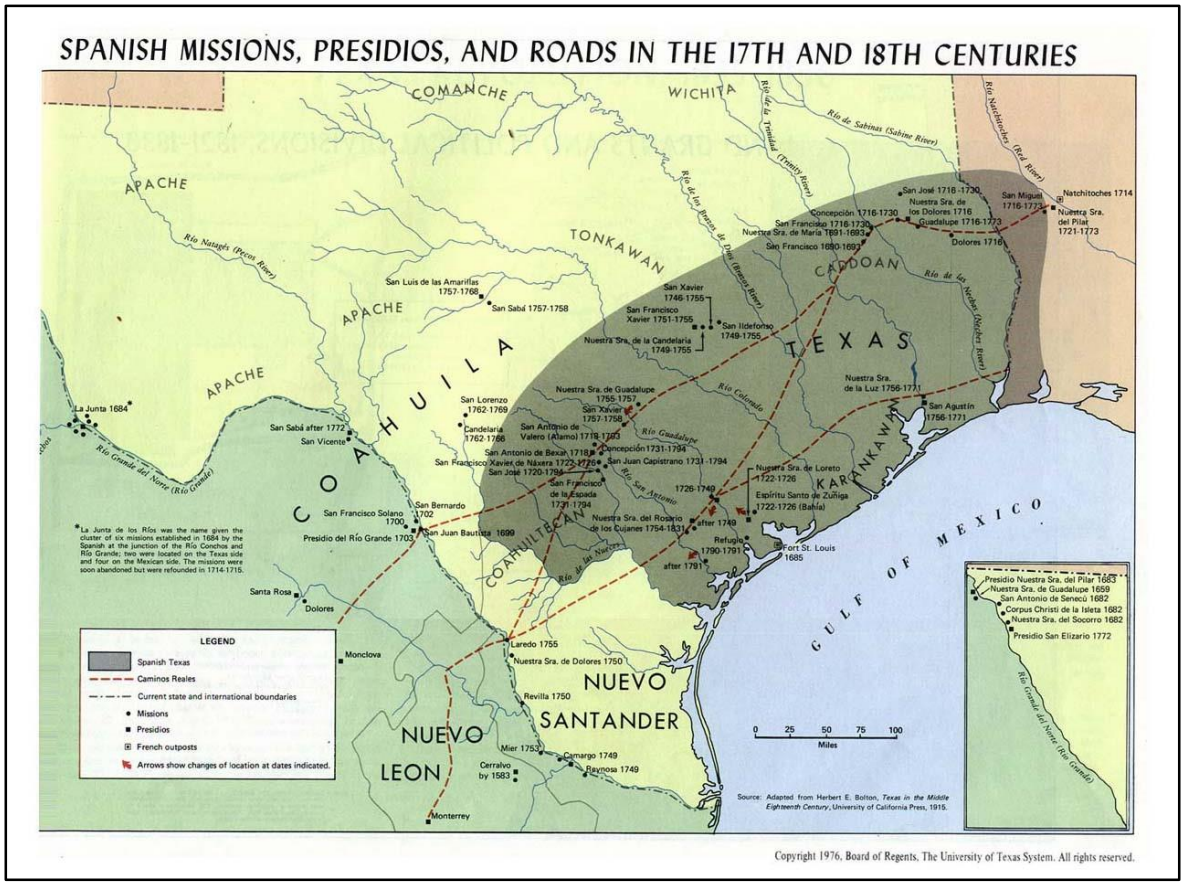

Figure 2-1: Spanish Missions. Presidios, and Roads in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Board of Regents, 1976).

Due to bureaucratic and logistical delays, it was not until March of 1731 that fifty-five Canary Islander settlers or the sixteen *Isleño* settler families[2] finally arrived in *Béxar* (Chipman and Joseph 2010: 136). The *Isleño* families were primarily from the island of Lanzarote, and although a few traced their origins to Tenerife, La Palma, Fuerteventura, and Gran Canaria, they most likely all came from agricultural backgrounds (Austin 1905: 331-338). The Canary Islands in the eighteenth century were under an *aparcería* or *métayer* system, a sort of sharecropping or tenant farming whereby an individual farmed a landowner's property for a share of the crops. As such, it is unlikely that the *Isleño* families were

[2] There were fifteen families and a sixteenth "family" composed of four single men

landowners in the Canary Islands and the promise of land and social status was significant in their decisions to risk their lives and move to an uncertain frontier.

Shortly after the *Isleño*s arrived in *Béxar*, Captain Juan Antonio Pérez de Almazán began to survey the villa of San Fernando de *Béxar*. Existing conditions including the presidial settlement, established irrigation ditches, lands already granted to the missions, and the ongoing Apache War prompted Almazán to establish the Main Plaza, or *La Plaza de las Islas* in the area west of the San Antonio River and east of the presidio and San Pedro Creek. The west side of the plaza was designated for the community's church, the east side for the *Casa Reales*, and all other lots surrounding the plaza were granted to the newly arrived Canary Islanders. Due to insufficient funds and the difficulties of the frontier, construction of the original church lasted from 1738 to 1750, and the *Casas Reales* was not erected until 1742, after eleven years during which municipal affairs were conducted in the homes of members of the *cabildo*. Similarly, the domestic spaces around the plaza and the adjacent farmlands were determined by drawing lots during Almazán's survey, but because the planting began shortly after their arrival, the Canary Islander families were not able to build their homes on the plaza until later.

Issues related to land ownership, water rights, and the control of the *cabildo* became the center points of a dispute between the *Isleño*s and the presidial *Agregado* settlers. The presidial settlers had never received official land titles or water rights, and because the *Isleño*s families arrived at the beginning of planting season they initially took up residence in the homes of the presidial families so that they could focus on working the irrigated lands the original settlers already occupied. This caused friction between the two factions. The seeds of hostility planted upon the *Isleños*' arrival blossomed into a full dispute as the Canary Islanders used their positions on the *cabildo* to create a monopoly over irrigated farmlands that economically reified the *Isleños*' social elite status tied to their titles of *Españoles* and *hijos d' algo* (Poyo and Hinojosa 1991: 42).

The *Isleño* political and economic monopoly created in the first decade after their arrival was complimented by an initial period of social exclusivity. However, the realities of frontier life created a dependency on the presidio and the missions that resulted in a period defined by interaction and integration between the *Isleño* and presidial families (ibid.: 46). This process of social integration among the *Isleños* and the presidial families was accompanied by shared economic, political, and cultural values that were shaped by frontier conditions. Due to the presence of hostile indigenous groups, primarily the Apache before 1750 and the Comanche thereafter, the community struggled to attract new settlers during the initial years of settlement. The economic and social realities of the relatively isolated frontier community eased these tensions, and by the mid eighteenth century, the initial *Isleño* monopoly over the settlement and its resources had become more accommodating to the military settlers through the necessities of intermarriage and economic and political integration. Shared economic interests and familial alliances established between the more prominent military families and the *Isleños* during the emergence of the private ranching economy in the second half of the eighteenth century were extremely influential in shaping the social character of *Béxar*. The interactions and eventual interdependence between these two groups during the eighteenth century blurred the lines between *Isleño* and *Agregado* identities and created a social hierarchy whereby a *Béxareño*'s status was based on familial ties to the *pobladores* (original settlers) and to wealth (ibid.: 58).

Tejanos

By 1763 the Seven Years' War was over, marking the end of the French threat to Spain's presence in the northern frontier. With France's transfer of Louisiana to Spain in 1763, Spain shifted priority to fortifying its settlements in Louisiana and California at the expense of the Spanish settlements in East Texas. As a result, *Béxar* became the capital of Texas and the *Adaesaños* in East Texas were forcefully relocated to San Antonio (Chipman and Joseph 2010: 188). The reorganization of Texas in the 1770s shifted Spain's interests and population base from East Texas to Central Texas and increased *Béxar*'s

importance on the frontier. In the process the community attracted immigrants from various social backgrounds from Central and Northern Mexico, Louisiana, and from Europe. Additionally, the secularization of the five missions in the San Antonio River Valley at the turn of the century provided a new dynamism to *Béxar*'s social structure. Although some Mission Indians remained in the vicinity of the missions and established their own communities following secularization, most of the lands originally distributed to the former neophytes were subsequently acquired by many of *Béxar*'s prominent families, thereby integrating the outlying communities into *Béxar*'s labor economy (Hinojosa and Fox 1991: 110). By the end of the eighteenth century, *Béxar* was a community with a clearly stratified social structure composed of elite land-owning *Béxareño*s, merchants, artisans, laborers, and servants where social mobility was possible through various practices including intermarriage, skilled labor, and personal connections (Poyo and Hinojosa 1991: 90).

Revolution

In 1803, the United States purchased Louisiana from the French, making parts of East Texas and Louisiana Neutral Ground and a border vulnerable to successive waves of Anglo-immigrants from the east. Furthermore, Spanish involvement in the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars resulted in an empire-wide economic crisis that ultimately strained the economies of the Spanish colonies and their relationship with the Crown. Finally, the 1808 French invasion of Spain that placed Napoleon's brother Joséph on the Spanish throne, fostered clear disfavor for royal authority within the colonies (Poyo 1996: 22). The tension towards the royal presence in Central Mexico fueled the eventual revolution that Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla led in 1810. The Casas Revolt in 1811, led by Juan Bautista de las Casas in *Béxar*, was directly influenced by Hidalgo's revolution that pitted the *criollo,* Indian, and mixed-blood populations against Spanish rule and called for an independent Mexico. The rebellion was short lived in San Antonio as local *Béxareños* took issue with Casas' leadership and mounted a counter junta and ousted Casas on March 2, 1811.

Concurrent with the Casas Revolt, an emissary of Hidalgo's revolution, José Bernardo Gutiérrez de Lara traveled to Washington D.C. in an attempt to gain United States' support for the rebellion. American officials did not lend direct support, but the trip influenced the formation of a filibuster expedition aided by U.S. officials in Louisiana and led by Gutiérrez along with Augustus W. Magee, a lieutenant in the U.S. Army. The Gutiérrez-Magee expedition, organized under The Republican Army of the North, entered Texas on August 7, 1812 and quickly captured Nacogdoches, Trinidad de Salcedo, La Bahia, and *Béxar*, where they fought Royalist forces at the Battle of Medina under the direction of Commandant-General Joaquín Arredondo south of San Antonio near the Medina River. The Republican Army, now under General José Álvarez de Toledo y Dubois and composed of roughly 1,400 Anglos, Indians, and *Tejanos* including a number of *Béxareños* with residences on the Main and Military Plazas, was easily defeated by the more organized Royalist Army. Following the battle, Arredondo marched into San Antonio, declared martial law and severely punished surviving rebels and their families with executions and confiscating properties, many of which were homes on the Main Plaza (Warren 2014).

Independence and the Mexican Period

The Battle of Medina and the fallout decimated San Antonio's population. A devastating flood in 1819 exacerbated these deplorable conditions also led to the loss of lives, destroyed a number of homes and rendered agricultural lands useless. By the time Mexico won independence in 1821, *Béxar* had generally recovered to pre-revolution conditions, with a population of about 2,000 and a social hierarchy composed of land owning, elite *Béxareño*s, merchants, artisans, small-scale farmers, laborers and servants (de la Teja and Wheat 1985: 26-28). *Béxar*'s importance to the frontier initially remained significant following independence, but the community's influence decreased dramatically after Mexico's adoption of a federal constitution in 1824 that established the state of *Coahuila y Tejas*. Furthermore, the 1824 Constitution's colonization laws resulted in a flood of Anglo-American immigrants to Texas and the establishment of new communities that concomitantly led to a steady decline in *Béxar*'s population and

the reduction of the community's significance on the frontier during the late 1820s and 1830s (ibid.: 12; Matovina 1995: 7). Despite the massive influx of immigrants from the United States into Texas, *Béxar* primarily remained a Hispanic community, and the community's established prominent families played important roles in determining *Béxar*'s place within an independent Mexico. *Béxareños* recognized Anglo-American colonization as the key to realizing the region's economic potential, and their efforts to promote *Tejano* interests were often directly tied to the immigrants' expansionist agenda. Although the Anglo-American population in *Béxar* grew slowly during the Mexican Period, interaction between the colonists and *Béxareños* was extremely significant to determine the character of the community during the period. *Tejanos*' role as negotiators between the colonists, the Mexican Government and their own interests had a played a significant part in the development of the Texas War of Independence, and ultimately, in the transformation of the region.

Chapter 3 : *Tejanos*, Ethnicity and Identity

Introduction

As suggested, borderlands scholars have recently made substantial efforts to rewrite the Texas narrative to highlight *Tejanos'* place in history. Many of these works use San Antonio as the geographic focus of their studies and are most often interested in the processes in which *Tejano* identity was forged and how it changed over time. While the scales and scopes of each study vary according to time period and theoretical framework, these scholars generally couch their discussions of *Tejano* identity in terms of shifting ethnic identities, where a broad range of ethnic and racial backgrounds come to share a common *Tejano* identity through shared experiences on the frontier (de la Teja 1995; Matovina 1995; Poyo and Hinojosa 1991 and Tijerina 1994). Existing scholarship has primarily discussed *Tejano* ethnic identity in Primordialist (objective) and Instrumentalist (subjective) terms, where identity is defined by shared objective characteristics like language, customs, and political and economic interests but is also situational and changes through interaction. My dissertation uses this previous research as a starting point to discuss the materiality of *Tejano* identity, and like most works on *Tejano* identity, I view the concept as a dynamic ethnic identity. However, while many have stressed the role of interaction in shaping identity, few have been explicit about the actual processes behind ethnic identity formation.

Unlike previous research, I look to explore the process of identity formation by employing a theoretical position based on the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1977) and Anthony Giddens (1984) and developed by G. Carter Bentley (1987), Thomas Hylland Eriksen (1992) and Sian Jones (1997). From this theoretical point of view ethnicity is grounded in practice theory and structuration and suggests that the formation of ethnic identity takes place through interaction and within a continual process between structure and agency. In this process historically constructed dispositions create and re-create the objective social structures that influenced the dispositions in the first place. The manifestations of ethnicity are cultural practices that are the objectifications of a consciousness of difference, which are

mirrored by individual and collective perceptions of difference. Agents are conscious of this difference, and as such, ethnic identity is situational and dynamic. Individuals and collectives can alter or change their actions to manipulate how they are perceived by others indicating that ethnicity is a fluid and dynamic identity embedded in different ways in many social and political contexts.

Tejano identity formed and changed under contradicting contexts: a dynamic frontier that endured as a borderland, an ethnically and racially diverse community with a shared cultural heritage, and an isolated backwater community that fostered revolutions and perpetuated change. The processual interpretation of ethnicity that I use to theorize *Tejano* identity provides access to understanding both the change and stability that defines *Tejano* identity. Furthermore, my approach focuses on the material remains of *Tejano* cultural practices or the very objectifications of the processes of ethnic identification themselves, and as a result, my theoretical perspective provides a unique but productive entry point into understanding *Tejano* identity.

The following chapter is broken down into three sections. First is a review of how the social sciences have defined ethnicity as an analytical unit to discuss identity. Secondly, I provide a synopsis of the existing research in *Tejano* identity to lay the groundwork on which my research builds. In the final section I clarify how my research conceptualizes *Tejano* identity as an ethnic identity and how I bridge theoretical concepts of ethnicity with theories of materiality.

Ethnicity as Identity

Ethnicity has a long history as an analytical unit in the social sciences. Darwinian inspired theories in the nineteenth century were manifested in studies of society that conflated race, ethnicity, and culture to legitimize racist social structures. Ethnicity was often used to support racially stratified hierarchies in situations where race, as a biological characteristic, was not clearly defined. Eastern Europeans, for example, were evaluated based on observable ethnic categories that included shared biological, linguistic, regional, and cultural heritages that were determined to be less evolved than the

those in the West (Jones 1997: 42). These racial and ethnic taxonomies were integrated into nationalist projects that developed shortly after World War I. Nationalist projects require the unification of a diverse population within a defined border. A common strategy used to create a sense of nationalism and homogenize a population was through the creation of a national mythology that tied groups of people to an actual or fictionalized ethnic homeland. Social sciences and archaeologists were often a part of these nationalist projects that looked to prove territorial claims and cultural or technological superiority in the distant past by linking historical antecedents with modern ethnic identities (ibid.: 2). The most salient case of how ethnicity was used in nationalist projects is the Nazi Party's use of "Aryan ethnic markers" in the archaeological record to legitimize territorial expansion and to claim cultural superiority to ethnic groups that migrated to the area later in history (ibid.: 2). As a part of a larger nationalist movement, archaeological and historical interpretations of an Aryan homeland provided the impetus for the expulsion and extermination of multiple ethnic groups in the process of creating a homogenized nationalist identity (ibid.: 2-3).

In general, and for many of the reasons listed above, ethnicity as an analytical unit in the social sciences fell out of favor following World War II (Trigger 1996: 322). Cultural historical archaeologists interested in linking archaeological evidence to modern ethnic identities before World War II shifted their interest to identifying and describing distinct cultural groups as they existed in the past. Discussions of ethnic identity were rare, but when they were discussed it entailed using theories of diffusion of ethnic groups to explain cultural change in the archaeological record. Most important, these archaeologists maintained historical distance from those groups they identified in the past, often ascribing generalized terminology to describe cultural groups and avoid questions of ethnicity. The trends that developed in the social sciences after World War II, including the rise in popularity of structuralism, the development of neo-evolutionary theories, and the inclusion of the scientific method entrenched the analysis of ethnic identity in observable, objective terms (ibid.: 323). Processualist

archaeologists followed suit and also discussed ethnic identities in objective terms, but their dissatisfaction with cultural historical archaeologists' use of the term as analogous to culture in their view, made ethnicity a poor analytical tool (ibid. 399). However, archaeologists continued to use ethnicity to examine ways in which distinct cultural groups interacted with other cultural groups to discuss the functional aspects of cultural change in the distant past.

Ethnic studies and identity studies in the social sciences in general changed dramatically in the late 1960s, a trend that is commonly attributed to Fredrik Barth's 1969 work *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries.* Until this work, ethnicity was evaluated in objective terms, where ethnic groups were identified by shared origins, religions, homelands, and other recognizable features that tied individuals to an identity. Barth's work instead proposed a subjectivist interpretation of ethnicity suggesting that ethnic identity is a self-ascribed identity based on an individual's perception of difference and social boundaries (us vs. them). From this perspective, ethnic identity originates and is maintained through intraction and processes of inclusion and exclusion where power diffentials are significant. While Barth's subjective interpretation of ethnicity was certainly influential, the suggestion that ethnic identification was based on perceived differences as opposed to objective similarities opened analytical doors in identity studies throughout the social sciences. Barth's work initiated a reinvigorated interest in studies of ethnicity, and over time two general schools of thought came to define how researchers conceptualized ethnicity. Primordialists remained close to objectivist interpretations and view ethnicity as being based on biological and psychological aspects of kinship and bloodlines. In opposition, Instrumentalists view ethnicity as dynamic and situational, and able to be engendered in different ways based on necessity (Fesler and Franklin 1999).

Variation within Primordialist and Instrumentalist interpretations was substantial, as were the critiques. Primordialism really only reinforced objective interpretations of ethnicity and made it difficult

to explain change or variation within ethnic groups (Jones 1997: 68). Instrumentalist interpretations had trouble explaining why people got together in the first place and even more in discussing why they stayed together (ibid.: 78-79). In an attempt to bridge the gap between objective (primordialist) and subjective (instrumentalist) interpretations, G.C. Bentley (1987) proposed a "practice theory of ethnicity" based on Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) work which suggested that people are socialized through a shared subliminal perception (habitus) based on common experiences and history. Bentley's interpretation was criticized most notably by Yelvington (1991), because it was unable to explain change or how individuals with uncommon experiences come to share the same ethnic identities.

In response, researchers (particularly Thomas Hylland Eriksen, 1992) reconfigured Bentley's approach to practice theory to include other aspects of Bourdieu's work and other theories of structuration proposed by Anthony Giddens (1984). Eriksen agrees to an extent that people are socialized through a shared subliminal perception (habitus) based on common experiences and history. More important, consciousness of ethnic identity relies on individuals' consciousness of difference that occurs through social interaction. Following Bourdieu, this consciousness of difference creates a break in doxa[3] allowing people to become aware of other ways of being. Reflexive agents (Giddens 1984: 3) are able to use this information situationally and in different contexts to reach political and economic ends.

Following Giddens, Bentley and Eriksen, Sian Jones (1997) developed her own analytical methodology for interpreting ethnicity in the archaeological record. In what she terms "multidimensional ethnicity" Jones proposes a theory of ethnicity grounded in practice theory that suggests that the formation of ethnic identity takes place through interaction and exists within a

[3] Doxa refers to the things in society that are taken for granted, or the experience in which "the natural and social world appears as self-evident" (Bourdieu 1977: 164).

continual process between structure and agency in which historically constructed dispositions create and re-create the objective social structures that influenced the dispositions in the first place (Jones 1997: 85). The manifestations of ethnicity are the objectification of a consciousness of difference (cultural practices) that is mirrored by individual and collective perceptions of difference (habitus). Since agents and collectives are conscious of this difference, they are able to alter or change their actions to manipulate how others perceive them suggesting that ethnicity is a fluid and dynamic identity that is embedded in different ways in many social and political contexts.

Previous Research in *Tejano* Identity

Research in *Tejano* history and culture has primarily been situated under the contexts of Borderlands, Mexican-American, Chicano(a) and/or Latino(a) scholarship (Ramos 2008: 10). These investigations are at heart critiques that challenge the dominant narrative of Texas history that is inextricably tied to the westward expansion of the United States and Anglo-American triumph in the region. Historical and contemporary studies of *Tejanos* typically begin with the reminder that Texas history began long before 1836, and then highlight the fact that many of Texas' most sacred cultural institutions can be traced to the region's Hispanic heritage. While these works are in part politically motivated, they are also intensive studies of social, cultural, economic, political, and demographic aspects of *Tejano* identity. My dissertation shares the same goals as these works and hopes to highlight *Tejanos* contributions to the development of Texas, and looks to build upon the body of work by adding a new perspective into *Tejano* identity by focusing on the material objects of everyday practices.

The following section provides a synopsis of some of the existing research in *Tejano* identity. This research has been conducted by a small circle of scholars who obviously have influenced each other, often published together, and predominately share a theoretical understanding of ethnic identity in general and *Tejano* identity in specific. In most cases, the authors below understand identity as a "common sense of peoplehood," indicating that groups are united by a combination of shared social,

cultural, linguistic and religious characteristics (Matovina 1995: 3). The authors balance this objective or Primordialist interpretation of ethnicity with Instrumentalist concepts that stress the situational nature of *Tejano* identity and the role of interaction among various different groups that influenced changes in *Tejano* identity. Andrés Reséndez (2006) and Raúl Ramos (2008) stand as the outliers in this sense, and although they conceive of identity as situational and based on certain shared characteristics, they also present their arguments from a theoretical point that incorporates concepts of structure and agency in the process of identity formation. I present the materials below based on this theoretical break, and focus on the respective works' understanding of *Tejano* identity and the salient characteristics and processes that the authors find integral to subject formation.

Jesús de la Teja's, *San Antonio de Béxar, A Community on New Spain's Northern Frontier* (1995) does not directly address *Tejano* identity, but explores the concept of community formation in eighteenth century San Antonio. According to de la Teja, community formation was based on "common attitudes and experiences or shared cultural or economic values" and a "societal binding" with "an overall sense of belonging based on a broad range of characteristics" (de la Teja 1995: xiv). The book traces the specifics of settlement and occupation in the early to mid-eighteenth century and outlines the divergent social groups that founded the region including the Canary Islanders, presidial soldiers, colonial administrators, Franciscan missionaries, mission Indians, and surrounding indigenous groups. De la Teja's central thesis is that the sharp divisions between class and race among these groups were not as meaningful in *Béxar*, and the economic, social, and political circumstances that faced all of *Béxar*'s settlers resulted in cooperation, mutual dependency, and ultimately, community formation.

Similarly, the aim of the edited volume, *Tejano Origins in Eighteenth-Century San Antonio* (Poyo and Hinojosa 1991) is to "contribute to an understanding of how San Antonio's earliest settlers built a community with a specific *Tejano* identity" (ibid.: xx). Like de la Teja's work, interaction is a centralizing theme in this collection and the authors credit the "economic forces, social interaction, [and] merged

political interests" that led to the emergence of a shared cultural identity (ibid.: xx). The seven essays in the collection each explore a social group or social interaction between groups in eighteenth century *Béxar* and include analyses of the original military settlers, interaction and integration between the original settlers and the Canary Islanders, the mission Indian experience, late eighteenth century immigrants, the indigenous people who lived inside the villa, and the role of the indigenous groups in the region. These individual analyses culminate in an essay that profiles the San Antonio community after Mexican Independence (1820 to 1832) to elucidate a "sense of *Tejano* regional identity [that] had emerged by this time" and was based on shared economic interests, distinct traditions and celebrations, shared political grievances, and strong town government (ibid.: 24).

Another volume edited by Gerald Poyo, *Tejano Journey, 1770-1850* (1996), picks up where the two previous investigations ended and argues that a distinct *Tejano* identity was established "by at least the 1770s," that was rooted in autonomy and fostered on the frontier (Poyo 1996.: xiii). The temporal scope of the book's seven essays is expansive and includes the decades leading up to the Mexican War of Independence, the Casas Revolt and the Battle of Medina, the Mexican Period, the Texas War of Independence, and the Texas Republic period. As such, this edited volume highlights the dynamism of *Tejano* identity, and like previously discussed works, this volume credits interaction as the driving force behind changes in identity. The evolution of *Tejano* identity charted across these seven essays begins with a familiar concept of *Tejano* identity that is based on common frontier experiences and a shared heritage. According to Poyo, this identity was solidified in the 1770s and 80s as *Béxareños* became unified in their pursuit of economic and political autonomy in response to the Bourbon Reforms. The unification that defined the community in the eighteenth century was challenged in the early nineteenth century during the Mexican War of Independence when *Béxareños* found themselves caught between competing interests. *Béxareños'* position as an "intermediary group" intensified during Mexican sovereignty, and "*Tejano* culture and economic interests reflected their place between [the] two nations" (ibid.: 46).

Tejanos' role as intermediaries changed again during the Texas War of Independence and the Texas Republic as *Tejanos* who had consistently promoted autonomy were now aligned with Anglo-American interests, but still "valued their cultural and religious heritage" (ibid.: 73). This predicament resulted in methods of accommodation and resistance by *Tejano*s who adopted an identity that "could resolve tensions inherent in being caught between" the two cultures (ibid.: 85).

Unlike the previous works that focus on identity formation and change, in *Tejanos and Texas Under the Mexican Flag, 1821-1836,* Andres Tijerina provides an in depth analysis of the "pattern of continuum in the government of Texas" as the region transitioned from Spanish colonial rule to Mexican federation to Anglo-American republic (ibid.: 4). Tijerina's argument highlights how distinctly *Tejano* cultural structures and institutions rooted in frontier colonial life persisted and were maintained throughout the Mexican Period and influenced the region well after independence. As a primarily objective analysis, Tijerina identifies institutions such as the municipal government (*municipio*), the *Tejano* justice system (j*uez de campo*), regional militias (*companias volantes*), colonization laws, and *Tejano* politics to discuss how these institutions influenced the development of analogous modern institutions.

Timothy Matovina's book, *Tejano Religion and Ethnicity: San Antonio, 1821-1860* (1995) examines the transition of San Antonio from the early Mexican Era (1821) through the Anglo-Texan era (1836-1846) and into statehood (1846-1860). Matovina defines *Tejano* ethnic identity as a "dynamic concept [that] was based on a common language, enemies, economic and political interests, and religious and cultural heritage" and was shaped through interaction with Anglo-Americans, other immigrants, and local Native American populations (ibid.: 3). Matovina argues that there were three distinct "shift[s] in *Tejano* religious and ethnic identity" from the Mexican Period through statehood (ibid.: 3). Matovina suggests that by 1821 *Tejano*s in San Antonio had developed a strong regional identity based on an "independent frontier spirit developed over years of facing common enemies and

hardships, promoting the needs of the area's economy, and celebrating patronal feasts that marked the settlement as distinct" (ibid.: 23). Matovina argues that a shift in this regional identity occurred over the course of the Mexican Period due to the colonization of immigrants from the United States. San Antonio's *Tejano*s, still strong in their Catholic faith, found themselves caught between Mexican politics and Anglo colonizers and their identity became "increasingly shaped by efforts to promote *Tejano* interests in the face of competing forces on both sides" (ibid.: 23). Similarly, during the Texas Republic era, Catholic religious practices and Mexican heritage remained important to the *Tejano* identity, but instead of adapting to "outside forces," San Antonio *Tejano*s tried to incorporate Anglo-Americans into their local community" (ibid.: 47). In this case *Tejano*s distanced themselves politically, but kept their cultural ties to Mexico, and endeavored to stay distinct from-Anglo-Americans by trying to integrate Anglos into their own cultural milieu. Finally, Matovina suggests that Catholic traditions and aspects of the region's Mexican heritage intensified within the *Tejano* identity during the early years of statehood as the Anglo-American and other European Immigrant identities became more prevalent around the city.

Building on these previous works, Andrés Reséndez's book *Changing National Identities at the Frontier, Texas and New Mexico, 1800-1850* (2004) examines an expanded geographic region and utilizes a more nuanced theoretical interpretation to evaluate identity formation on the frontier. For Reséndez, identity is situational and he argues that two new structural forces, the state and the market, conditioned the identity choices of frontier residents. As a borderlands study, Reséndez views the frontier as a space where the "Mexican state and American markets collided" and challenged frontier residents with a "consistent set of identity choices and tensions" that often pulled these residents in opposite directions (Reséndez 2004: 6). More specifically, Reséndez argues that frontier populations were caught between a Mexican national project and expanding American market forces, and his interests lie in understanding how Mexican institutions shaped and were shaped by frontier

communities that were involved in a "powerful economic/cultural phenomenon that ended up affecting their livelihoods and perceptions" (ibid.: 11).

While Reséndez's theoretical approach is very well developed, his expansive regional scope limits his analysis of strictly *Tejano* identity as his interests include a range of identities from *Tejanos* to *Nuevomexicanos* to Anglo-Americans to Mexican Nationalists, and various indigenous groups. Similarly, Reséndez engages these identities through various themes including differing special perceptions, intermarriage, and nineteenth century politics, but the most useful discussion of *Tejano* identity comes from his chapter on the role of the American market in identity formation on the Texas Frontier. In this chapter, Reséndez situates *Tejanos* as caught between "the pull of institutions, patronage, orders, and rituals coming from the south and profits flowing from the north," and suggests that as the nineteenth - century Mexican economy grew stagnant the frontier "gravitated towards the economy of the United States" (ibid.: 118-119). These market forces fostered inter-ethnic alliances, which in the case of San Antonio, reinvented the colonial era social hierarchy and elite *Béxareños* became influential merchants and traders inextricably linked to American entrepreneurs. Furthermore, the American markets also introduced new goods and "changed consumption patterns throughout the frontier," which Reséndez interprets as a process that changed frontier residents' worldview as foreign goods came to represent "their yearnings and dreams about progress and civilization" (ibid.: 119).

Similar to the Reséndez's work, Raúl Ramos' book *Beyond the Alamo, Forging Mexican Ethnicity in San Antonio 1821-1861* (2008) investigates *Tejano* identity through the lenses of nationalism and ethnicity, although Ramos' scope is limited to social and political contexts of nineteenth century *Béxar.* Like Reséndez, Ramos views identity as situational and as "constantly being re-created in response and conversation with the changes in the world," and chooses the interrelated categories of nationalism and ethnicity to critically evaluate *Béxareño* identity (Ramos 2008: 7). Ramos situates his investigation as a borderlands study and suggests that *Béxar's* location on the frontier borderland of first Mexico and then

the United States shaped the development of nationalism and ethnicity in the region, and his study confronts the related issue of identity formation within this borderland context. According to Ramos *Béxareños* were active participants in the transformation of the region as it changed from Spanish colony to Mexican state to independent republic to state in the Union. *Béxareños* negotiated these changes in nationalism through "locally established cultural and ideological practices," that proved meaningful in shaping the regional identity, and by critically evaluating these practices we can gain "insight into the changing meaning of nation for [*Béxareños*]" (ibid.: 7). Like nationalism, *Béxareños'* understandings of their own ethnicity changed as the social and political context of the region changed over time. *Béxareños* had developed their own definitions of ethnicity during the Spanish colonial period, and it was this "system of social and cultural identity" that they referenced when confronted with indigenous, European, and Anglo-American identities that forced *Tejanos* to "reconfigure their notions of ethnic identity" (ibid.: 8).

Ramos' book is divided into two sections. The first section examines concepts of *Tejano* identity from 1821 until the Texas secession and examines three "social worlds" that existed in the region and were influential in shaping local understandings of nationalism and ethnicity. First Ramos examines *Tejanos'* role in Mexican Independence, and how local concerns and regional concepts of social class prompted *Béxareños* to join the Mexican national project. Second, he examines a spectrum of indigenous identities that interacted with *Tejanos* in various capacities to reinvestigate the concept of *mestizaje* and the effects this type of racial mixing had on ethnic identification. The section ends with an analysis of *Tejanos'* role as "cultural brokers" between Anglo-American colonists and the Mexican State which "set into motion a variety of shifts in *Tejano* identity and social structures affecting *Tejanos'* place in the world around them" (ibid.: 81). Section two traces the evolution of nationalism and ethnicity from the Texas War of Independence to the Civil War, although Ramos dedicates most of this section to the late 1820s and 1830s. Posited as a "narrative arc of *Tejano* decline, resurgence, and persistence" Ramos describes

the dissolution of *Tejanos'* role as cultural brokers as tensions between Anglo-Americans and the Mexican Government increased in the 1830s, and how *Tejano* class-based concepts of ethnicity were abandoned after the Texas War of Independence. After the revolution the conditions in *Béxar* situated *Tejanos* under new terms of nationalism that reorganized their ethnic identity and politically and socially marginalized *Tejanos* in their own communities.

Tejano Ethnicity and Materiality

My understanding of ethnic identity closely follows Jones and Eriksen's processual interpretation, and is grounded in practice theory and structuration. According to Jones (via Eriksen), ethnic groups are "culturally ascribed identity groups which are based on the expression of real or assumed shared culture and common descent," but more importantly, the process of ethnicity "involves a consciousness of difference which to varying degrees, entails the reproduction and transformation of basic classificatory distinctions between groups of people who perceive themselves to be in some respect culturally different" (Eriksen 1992: 3; Jones 1997: 84). In other words, ethnic identification is based on a consciousness of difference and is distinct from other forms of social identity because it references a common ancestry, shared culture, histories, and traditions. Furthermore, in a processual interpretation, ethnic categories are reproduced and transformed in the ongoing processes of social life, and this perspective permits the analysis of the processes embedded in ethnic identity formation and the functions that these processes serve in social interaction (Jones 1997: 84). My research interests include both the enduring nature and the dynamism of *Tejano* identity, and this theoretical perspective examines the ever-changing processes of differentiation that are inextricably anchored to categories of distinction.

As mentioned, a major focus of my dissertation is the materiality of *Tejano* identity and the role the material world plays in the process of *Tejano* identity formation. The basis of this thesis derives from the notion that agents live in a material world and their experiences within that world shape them

and the social worlds in which they live (Gell 1998; Miller 2005; Meskell 2005). Theories of materiality explore the interrelationships between objects and subjects as the bases for the practices that produce and reproduce material worlds and examine how "the physicality of the artifact is enmeshed in the work of praxis: cultural construction is achieved through action rather than simply conceptualization" (Miller 2005: 5; Meskell 2005: 2). When integrated into a processual interpretation of ethnicity, material culture is central to the "structural dispositions of the habitus, which infuse all aspects of the cultural practices and social relations characterizing a particular way of life" (Jones 1987: 119). From this perspective, ethnic identification is the self-conscious expression of difference through practice, but these practices are shaped and defined by past material experiences and the everyday objects involved. Chapter 4 provides a more in-depth analysis of materiality as a theoretical perspective through a contextualized examination of the role of the acequia in *Tejano* identity formation.

My research follows previous research in *Tejano* identity and explores the concept of ethnic identity through various overlapping analytical themes including race, class, and nationalism. These terms are polysemic and they signify and mobilize each other in ways that are important in analyzing how identity in general was created. *Tejano* identity formation in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was rooted in its colonial past and understandings of ethnic identity were inseparable from racial implications that existed in Colonial New Spain. The structural aspects of the *sistema de castas* made race an important aspect in subject formation in early San Antonio, but as most researchers agree (de la Teja 1995; Matovina 1995; Meacham 2000; Menchaca 1991, and Poyo and Hinojosa 1991) racial classifications became less important during the late Spanish Colonial and Mexican periods when "social construction [was] based on wealth, employment, and family connections" (Meacham 2000: 264). My dissertation examines three archaeological sites associated with prominent *Béxareño* families, and through an examination of their material worlds and the items used in daily

practices, I will investigate the ways in which changes in understandings of race and class shaped ethnic identity.

Nationalism also played a significant role in the processes of *Tejano* identity formation, and this dissertation focuses on three archaeological sites and various agents with direct links to the Mexican and Texas War of Independences. According to the findings of Matovina, Reséndez and Ramos, shifts in national identity from Spanish Colony to Mexican State to Independent Texas significantly shaped *Tejano* identity. *Tejanos* referenced their social identities established during the Colonial period when confronted with the Mexican War of Independence, Anglo-American colonization, and the Texas War of Independence and calibrated their senses of self to fulfill regional and personal interests. The three archaeological sites explored in this dissertation provide insight into the decisions individuals and families made during these revolutionary periods, and these agents' actions in times of revolution speak to how *Tejanos* internalized colonial and national projects. Through an examination of the material conditions in *Béxar* and *Tejanos'* consumer choices during these revolutionary periods it is possible to analyze the processes in which *Tejanos* actively shaped their own material worlds and contributed to their regional identity.

Chapter 4 : Water, Power and the Materiality of *Tejano* Identity: The Acequias of San Antonio

Introduction

My research examines the material practices in San Antonio during the late Spanish Colonial and Mexican periods that worked to shape the region's identity. The theoretical perspective of materiality argues that objects are central to subject formation, and that they are integral in structuring relationships between agents and social structures that in turn, construct and embody material worlds as objectifications of distinct cultural practices. Like the processual approach to ethnicity, theories of materiality insist that subject formation and the concomitant creation of a material world are processes that reference past experiences to create present conditions. As such, this chapter works on two levels; first it provides a well-defined interpretation of how I view theories of materiality, and second, it provides a background investigation into the historical circumstances and experiences that *Tejanos* referenced in the process of identification.

The conditions of colonial settlement in San Antonio allowed the *pobladores* (original settlers), comprised of Presidial (*Agregado*) and Canary Islander (*Isleño*) families, to manipulate power structures, create status, and establish social identities. Over time, San Antonio became a community unified by identity, but separated by a unique definition of class, and I argue that the material practices San Antonio's prominent citizens employed were meaningful in creating and maintaining social stratification while also contributing to the construction of the community's identity. The materiality of colonial San Antonio is integral to this thesis, as the interrelationships between objects and subjects are the bases for the practices that produce and reproduce material worlds. This approach suggests that the objects cannot be disentangled from processes of subject formation, and instead, objects are major contributors in structuring relationships.

The following discussion investigates the relationships between materiality and society through colonial San Antonio's acequia irrigation system. The system of acequias that ran through the colonial villa and the surrounding landscape was used in a range of daily practices but primarily served as the source of community's drinking and irrigation water. The acequias were also deeply integrated into the social and physical structures of San Antonio, making them a significant feature in the development of the community and the community's identity. These ditches were entangled within community-wide relationships through daily practices that contributed to the ordering of everyday life, but it was also within these relationships that these objects helped secure status, reaffirm social class, and create "social power" (Miller 2005: 6; DeMarrais 1996: 15).

The acequia system in general was an essential resource to the colony's everyday needs, but it was also a technology rooted in Old World tradition that closely tied water rights to concepts of personal and community property, but also influenced by pre-Columbian irrigation methods and indigenous labor (Doolittle 1990: 171). As a result, this irrigation system existed in a specific colonial context andthe acequia system in the villa provides an example in which the physical landscape and the social conditions in colonial San Antonio determined who controlled the resource and how that control shaped the community. These irrigation ditches criss-crossed the landscape and had the ability to distribute and normalize concepts of ownership, power, and identity that were meaningful in establishing and reaffirming social status. The following discussion expands on this thread to fully investigate the roles that these irrigation ditches played in subject and community formation. This analysis also examines how these constructions worked within relationships with agents, social structures, and the greater landscape to organize social power and become the materializations of a process that legitimized and reinforced social hierarchies significant to the colonial community's identity.

Materiality

Theories of materiality have taken numerous forms and are born out of various theoretical roots. The approach theorized by Daniel Miller (2005) in the introduction to the edited volume *Materiality* reflects this varied background as he proposes a theory of materiality inspired by Marxism, Hegel's objectification, Bourdieu's theory of practice, and well developed theories of agency attributed to Bruno Latour and Alfred Gell. Miller's conceptualization of materiality works dialectically between what he describes as a "vulgar theory of mere things as artifacts" and a philosophical position "that claims to entirely transcend the dualism between subjects and objects" (Miller 2005: 3). Miller's "vulgar" theory of things is situated within post-structuralist thought and is largely influenced by Pierre Bourdieu's practice theory and Marx's material practice. The synthesis of these theoretical points is what Miller calls the "humility of things," which suggests that objects and the exterior environment have the ability to unconsciously habituate agents and are "the primary means by which people are socialized as social beings" (ibid: 5; 6). Furthermore, these historically constructed habitual ways of being (habitus) are ordered across everyday life through objectified practices and work recursively to promote social reproduction, but are never fully deterministic and vary because of agency (ibid: 6). Under these terms, objects are active sets of orders that interact with agents and are the "powerful foundation for more or less everything that constitutes a given society" (ibid: 7).

In true dialectic fashion, Miller problematizes his "vulgar" theory of things by acknowledging that the theory itself hinges on the unnatural presupposition that the definition of a thing can actually be agreed upon. Naturally, Miller counterposes his Marxist-inspired material stance (his "vulgar" theory of things) with the Hegelian philosophy of objectification. Hegel's ruminations on consciousness and the material world determined that "there can be no fundamental separation between humanity and materiality," and to talk about subjects or objects is misleading because they

are "merely appearances that we see emerging in the wake of the process of objectification as it proceeds as a historical process" (ibid: 9; 10). However, instead of undermining his "vulgar" theory, Miller proposes that materiality should continue to work within this dialectical tension between the material and the philosophical, suggesting that a theory of things is a "subset of [a] theory of culture" (ibid: 10).

Beyond these foundational aspects of Miller's theory of things I am also interested in the concepts of agency and power in materiality that he proposes. Miller extends his philosophical discussion on objectification and the unnatural distinction between subjects and objects to introduce the concepts of agency and object agency as proposed by Bruno Latour and Alfred Gell respectively. In essence, these positions suggest that agency is not only a human attribute, but something that exists within the relationships between agents and objects, to which the possibility of nonhuman agency is just as plausible as human agency. This move is used to highlight the often-overlooked active role of objects in subject-object formation, to emphasize the problematic separation between subjects and objects, and to elucidate the significance of "nonhumans and the effects of their agency" (ibid: 12).

Especially useful under this theme of object agency is Alfred Gell's concept of abduction. This position emphasizes the capability of objects to extend and distribute the effects of one's agency over others (ibid: 13). The notion that the effects of agency created in subject-object relationships can influence others has direct implications to another theme that I find useful in Miller's discussion on materiality: power. In noting the various ways in which authors in the edited volume discussed how materiality is relative to power, Miller suggests that "the study of material culture often becomes an effective way to understand power, not as an abstraction, but as a mode by which certain forms of people become realized, often at the expense of others" (ibid: 19). In this context,

Miller is referring to Marxist interpretations of class-based subject formation that occurs "in and through their materiality" and in various modes of production and consumption (Miller 2005: 17). Miller, through Marx, argues that private property alienates non-land owners from nature and modes of production and renders them "insubstantial," while attributing land owners "greater consequences as a result of their extended presence in the material world" (ibid: 17).

This dialectical theory of materiality and the accommodations it makes for agency and power is the brand of materiality in which I base this case study. On one level the acequia was an object that was a part of a colonial society with a strong heritage in water management and well developed water laws. As an eighteenth century Spanish colony in Texas, the community was founded on historically constructed and complex notions of colonial settlement, social status, property ownership, and resource management that were directly tied to the acequias. As such, these irrigation ditches worked along with agents on the colonial landscape to order daily practices across space and time, and through this process, the relationships between different agents, existing social structures, and the acequias contributed to the social and physical make-up of the community. On another level, the acequias are the material objectifications of these relationships between agents, things, and social worlds and can be discussed in terms that highlight the entanglements between subjects and objects. Through historically ordered practices, the acequias were consciously and unconsciously intertwined with individual, familial, and communal identity. From this understanding it becomes clear that a discussion of objects and agents is a discussion about the objectification of cultural practices, or more precisely that these objects are inseparable from these subjects and the historical processes they produced. In mediating between these two poles of theory, I am able to talk about the significance of these objects in the real physical worlds where they existed, while also discussing the larger social and cultural worlds that they produced and reproduced. In addition, the concept of land ownership as tied to subject-object formation, agency, and power is extremely important to my investigation of the materiality of the acequias in colonial San

Antonio. The following discussion approaches the acequias, private property, and the laws that developed from an analytical position that examines their relationships with specific agents to gain insight into the sources of power in colonial San Antonio that helped to determine social status and shape community identity. This point of view examines how the materiality of the acequias helped to legitimize institutional powers and how they were used to project this social power onto the landscape.

The San Antonio Acequias

Spain's heritage in arid and unpredictable environments developed a tradition of acequia irrigation technology and associated laws that closely tied water rights to concepts of personal and community property. Under colonialism this tradition expanded across the Atlantic where it was altered based on specific regional conditions to become a hybrid of Spanish laws, the colonial environment, and colonial society (Cox 1999: 316). This means that settlers brought to San Antonio the complex rules of eighteenth century Spanish water laws, as developed over generations of agricultural practices, along with expectations of how irrigation agriculture should work. San Antonio's original colonial settlers were a mix of presidio soldiers, Franciscan friars, and Canary Islanders all of whom had some experience with acequia irrigation technology. These entities and their acequieros worked together to engineer the colonies' seven acequias (Figure 4-1), but relied on Mission Indian labor to dig the ditches and construct the dams and aqueducts resulting in the dissemination of acequia know-how across the community. The actual physical aspects of the colonial landscape such as topography, types of water sources, and climate were influential in determining paths that these irrigation ditches followed and dictated how they actually worked in practice. The Edward's Aquifer serves as the reliable source for San Antonio's streams and rivers that supplied the colony's acequias, and the generally north to south slope that the San Antonio River followed determined how the acequias flowed, and concomitantly, how the landscape was settled. Furthermore, the South Central Texas climate has historically been subject to periods of prolonged droughts, many of which occurred

in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, suggesting that the acequia, as a reliable source of water, would have been a very important resource in the predominantly agricultural colony (Maudlin 2003).

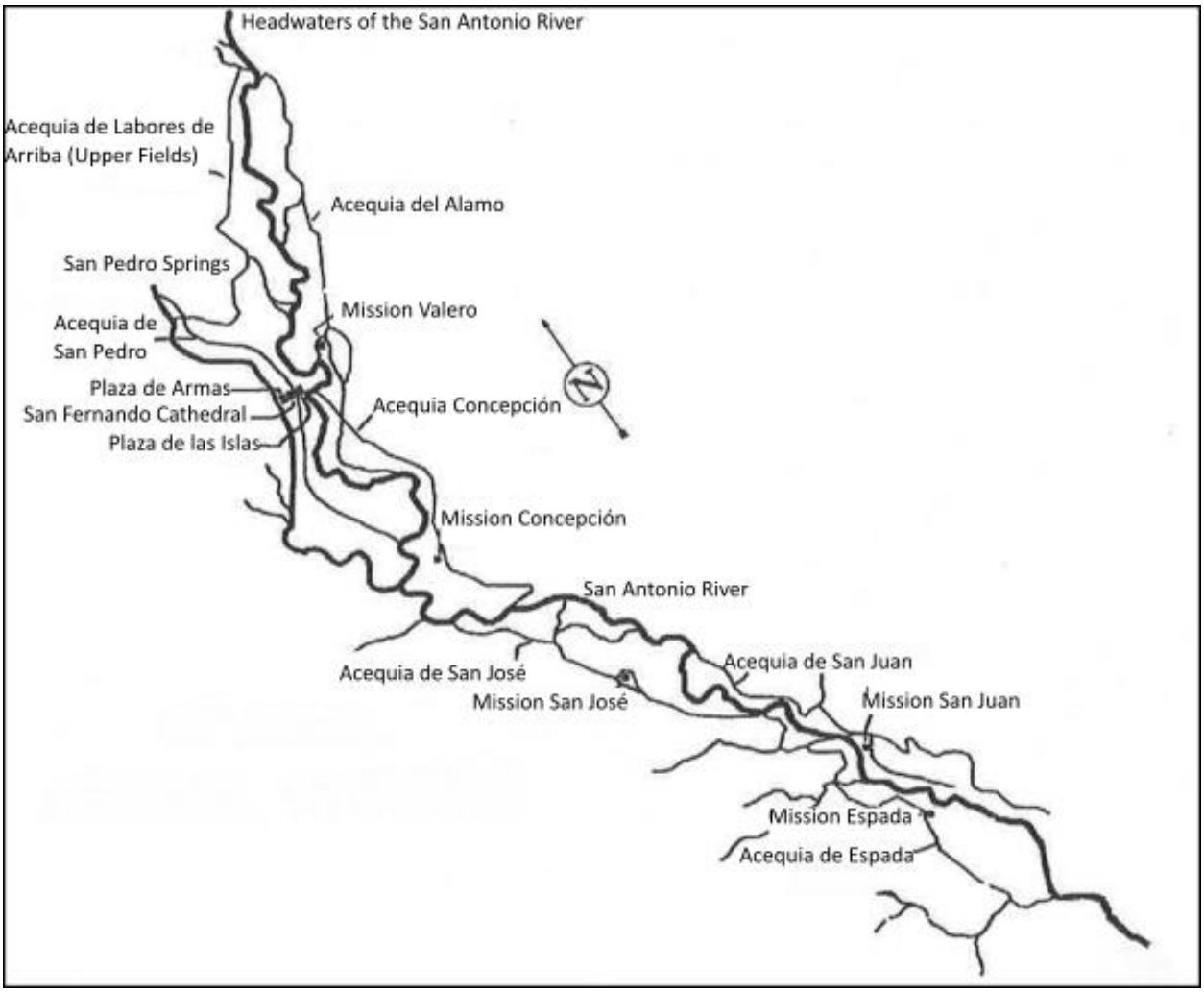

Figure 4-1: The Seven Major Acequias in the San Antonio River Valley (Adapted from Cox 1999: 317).

Spanish Law recognized water as communal property to be divided, distributed, shared, and conserved through cooperation between the villa, the presidio, and the missions (Porter 2009: 54). The survival of the colony and the missions depended on these entities becoming self- sufficient to some degree, which had to be a community-wide effort. In combination with irrigation technology,

the temperate climate in San Antonio allowed for two growing seasons, suggesting that the acequias were utilized by the community for irrigation purposes almost year-round, and when they were not used during the year to water the fields, the acequias were cleaned repaired and maintained, practices the town council (*cabildo*) enforced and in which the entire community participated.

However, the *sistema de castas*, colonial administrators, preconceived rules of social status, and specific agents determined how water was managed through the acequia system. In *Béxar*, the *cabildo*, comprised of the colony's 'elite' citizens, oversaw all matters dealing with the villa's acequia, a position they exploited for financial gain and social benefits. It was within this tension between established Spanish water laws, concepts of social status tied to colonial settlement and the *sistema de castas*, and the physical and social realities of the colonial frontier that these relationships between subjects, objects, and the landscape existed and produced the intertwined material and social worlds of colonial San Antonio. The following discussion provides evidence from the archival record of how the acequia and the community acted upon one another to create objectified realities. Through this discussion it becomes clear that the community's structures are inseparable from the acequias as sources of social power, and over time these acequias came to represent the aspects of social stratification that were the basis of the community's identity. San Antonio's rivers, springs, and creeks served as the impetus for the area's settlement in the early eighteenth century, and the first acequias were constructed in accordance with the establishment of first, Mission Valero and the small presidio community in 1718 and again with Mission San José in 1724 (Cox 1999: 316). With the San Antonio River to the east and the San Pedro Creek to the west, the original presidial settlement was provided with fertile soils, reliable sources of water, and protection from the dangers of the surrounding frontier. The settlers of the Presidio built the original San Pedro Acequia between these two waterways and according to the 1729 Marques de Aguayo map (Figure 4-2) the original San Pedro Acequia originated at a large bend in San Pedro Creek and then curved to the southwest and emptied into the San Antonio River just before the

horseshoe bend. This original acequia serviced approximately 100 acres north of the Presidio and the surrounding community of roughly twenty-five households during the 1720s and followed the east-west orientation of the old city street, Calle Romana, that also served as the limits of the Barrio del Norte throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (ibid: 318; 319).

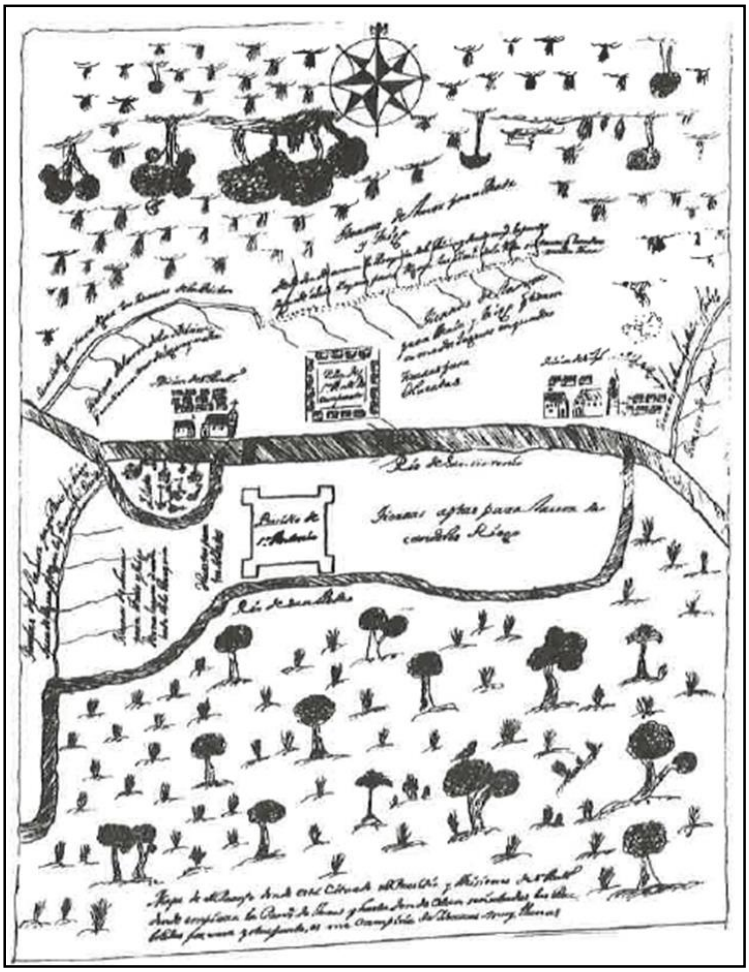

Figure 4-2: Marques de Aguayo' s 1729 map of San Antonio. Courtesy of Institute of Texan Cultures, The University of Texas- San Antonio.

Mission Valero's acequia was a much more complicated matter and was fed from the San Antonio River through a diversion dam on the west bank of the San-Antonio River that pushed water toward a canal intake on the east side of the river and flowed south-southeast through a dirt ditch for three and a half miles (ibid: 319). Construction of the acequia was slow, and by 1727 the acequia was

still incomplete. However, over the next three decades the Mission Valero acequia extended to nearly ten miles long and provided water to all of Valero's lands east and south of the mission (ibid: 319). Similarly, Mission San José's acequia (which later became Mission Concepcion's or the "Pajalache") acequia, began at a dam on the east side of the San Antonio River at present-day Presa Street (Spanish for dam) on the east boundary of the La Villita neighborhood and flowed south along what would become Mission Road. This acequia was the widest (reported at 20 feet wide) of the seven acequias that were eventually constructed in San Antonio and was blamed for the massive floods that destroyed most of the villa in 1809 (Cox 2005: 40). Three additional missions and their associated acequias were established and built in the early 1730s: Mission San José (second location), Mission San Juan, and Mission Espada's acequias were similarly constructed in a chain along the San Antono River with San José and Espada on the west side and San Juan on the east side. Like the Mission Valero and Concepción's (the original San José) acequias, these acequias were expansive and large enough to irrigate the missions' lands and produce a water surplus.

This was the context in which sixteen families from the Canary Islands arrived in 1731 to officially establish a villa in Bexar (de la Teja 1988: 75). King Philip V recruited the *Isleños* by granting the settlers free passage to New Spain, free land, and the status of *hijos d'algo* (traditional title of low Spanish nobility), and shortly after their arrival Captain Juan Antonio de Almazán distributed among the *Isleños* "all the arable portions of land" north and south of the presidio between the San Antonio River and San Pedro Creek that "had already been cleared by those who first established themselves near the presidio" (Castañeda 1936: 302). The *Isleños'* arrival also coincided with the Viceroy Marques de Casafuerte's initial decree involving water in San Antonio in which he addressed the fair and equitable qualities of acequia irrigation, but also established the *majordomo de los bienes y propios de la republica* (administrator of public lands), a position within the *cabildo* that oversaw all

public works, which at that time primarily consisted of managing the villa's acequia (Castañeda 1936: 308).

Throughout the 1730s and early 1740s the *cabildo* was exclusively composed of *Isleños*, with the exception of the presidio captain, who served as chief magistrate, but whose authority was by no means absolute (Poyo and Hinojosa 1991: 42). With a strong background in acequia irrigation, the *Isleño*-dominated council fully realized the potential of controlling the villa's water source and initially claimed rights to all the non-mission lands and all the water in San Pedro Creek and the San Antonio River (ibid.: 43). Speaking on behalf of the missions, Friar Gabriel de Vergara of Mission Concepción contested the *Isleños*' claims and complained that there was not enough water for the missions to share with the expanding villa, a fact that in his opinion would lead to the failure of the missions (Porter 2009: 52). In his reply to Friar Vergara, Viceroy Casafuerte extolled the values of Spanish water law and equal distribution for "mutual benefit and usefulness" through "prudent management" (ibid.: 53). However, Casafuerte also mentioned that he could not comment on the issue of Mission Indian water rights, because they had none, and more importantly "it would be lamentable" to see the Canary Island settlers "left without water which would be the same as letting them perish" because after all, "the King appointed them to settle that place" (ibid.: 53).

This is a clear indication that the rules of communal water distribution in early San Antonio overwhelmingly favored the Canary Island settlers, but more significantly, Casafuerte's note also suggests that water rights were directly tied to these setters' status as "those who the King appointed to settle [the colony]" (*pobladores;* ibid.: 53). Casafuerte made the analogy that these settlers' access to water rights determined the success or failure of the colony, but more significantly in doing so he literally associated their status to the primacy of their water rights and to their physical bodies.

The *presidial settlers similarly contested the Isleños' claims to all non-mission lands and the waters of the river and creek*. Upset with losing the lands and water rights they had held for the previous decade, the military family settlers petitioned the viceroy in 1733 for the equal distribution of land and water rights among the community (Poyo and Hinojosa 1991: 43). Although these presidial setters did not hold formal title or legal rights to these lands or to the acequia, Viceroy Casafuerte (as he had done in his letter to Friar Vergara) emphasized the fair and communal attributes of Spanish water law and approved equal distribution, but he also remarked on the importance of acequia management and community cooperation (ibid. 1991: 43). Despite Casafuerte's approval, the *Isleño*-run *cabildo* ultimately delayed his decision through appeals and other administrative tactics the *Isleños* utilized to maintain a monopoly on land and water in the villa (ibid. 1991: 43).

By 1734 a new acequia had been devised, planned, and possibly constructed, because in January of that year *Béxar* was finally surveyed and official land titles were formally granted to fifteen Canary Island settler families, four single men from the villa, and eight soldiers (Cox 1999: 322). While the records do not indicate if the new acequia was completed when these titles were granted, it seems likely that it was because according to Spanish water laws, the size and shapes of land grants were typically dependent upon the amount of area that a specific acequia could irrigate in a single '*dula*' (literally 'a turn' but a term for the allowance of water to irrigate a field), which in colonial *Béxar* was one half of a day's worth of water (ibid: 316). These lots of land or '*suertes*' were distributed according to a sort of lottery whereby those eligible to receive grants drew lots to determine who was awarded the most desirable lands along the course of the new San Pedro Acequia (ibid.: 316). As a result, an individual's *suerte* was literally tied to his luck. The new design of the San Pedro Acequia began roughly from the same location on San Pedro Creek as the previous one, but instead proceeded directly south to run between the San Antonio River and the San Pedro Creek for approximately four miles through the middle of the villa, and it returned to the river just north of where the creek and

river confluence (Figure 4-1). This design was an improvement over the previous acequia because not only it irrigated the fields in the Barrio del Norte, but it also opened the relatively expansive fields south of the villa (*Labor de Abajo*), an area that had previously been promised to the Canary Islanders, but went unused until after the acequia was completed. While this configuration dramatically expanded irrigable lands, as I mentioned, grants were limited to the *Isleños*, four single men from the villa, and eight soldiers. The *cabildo* objected to this distribution entirely but ultimately blocked the grants that were awarded to the soldiers because "the water was insufficient for all" (Poyo and Hinojosa 1991: 44).

The notion that the town council was much more concerned with water rights than land grants is significant, because land grants continued to be awarded to non-*Isleños* after 1734, but these grants rarely mentioned irrigation rights, suggesting that the *cabildo* may have had absolute control over the community's use of the San Pedro Acequia after its construction (Poyo and Hinojosa 1991: 44). More important, the archival record indicates that the *Isleños* took full advantage of their grants and rented their d*ulas* to individuals not granted water rights, a strategy individual *Isleños* and the *cabildo* were able to exploit for profit (Porter 2009: 64). Through limiting legal access to the San Pedro Acequia, the Canary Islands' settlers were able to create a market for water and commodify the acequia. With exclusive rights to water in the villa, the *Isleños* created a sort of land tenure system thorough the acequia that gave the settlers direct control over the modes of production that defined the local agricultural economy. The commodification of water through the acequia alienated a working class that had to rent water rights from individuals who controlled the resource, a process that likely had meaningful effects in shaping social classes.

Isleños' strategies aimed at controlling the acequia as a source of social power were not relegated to just the early years of settlement, but instead were a tactic employed throughout the

eighteenth century to maintain control over production in the villa. However, by the mid-1740s the class exclusivity based on *Isleños* descent had begun to deteriorate due to the realities of settlement on the colonial frontier. Intermarriage became necessary, sixteen families do not represent a sustainable population, and at least two of these sixteen settler families were direct descendants of Juan Leal Goraz, the original leader of the *Isleño* settlers. Despite real attempts to maintain ethnic exclusivity, by the 1740s intermarriage with presidio settlers became commonplace, and between 1742 and 1760 only fifteen percent of *Isleño* marriages were to others of Canary Island descent (Poyo and Hinojosa 1991: 46). Most often these intermarriages involved *Isleños* marrying the descendants of the original presidio settlers, thereby maintaining some exclusivity in the title of *pobladores* (original settlers; de la Teja 1995: 110). These intermarriages and daily interactions led to economic relationships between the *Isleño* and the military families in addition to creating political alliances. Furthermore, the original appointments to the *cabildo* were for life, but by the 1750s many of these lifetime appointees had died, and subsequent positions were filled by elections that helped to integrate the *cabildo* (Poyo and Hinojosa 1991: 55). While social status could no longer be exclusively linked to *Isleño* descent, the class structures formed in the 1730s and 40s continued to be meaningful throughout the eighteenth century, and social stratification in the community was often determined by a hybrid of kinship and economics (Poyo and Hinojosa 1991: 46).

Similarly, the San Pedro Acequia continued to be a source of social power throughout the eighteenth century in much the same way that it had been in the community's formative years. In the early 1740s, Governor Manuel de Sandoval attempted to establish a new acequia to the north of town to accommodate the numerous petitions for land from the presidial settlers and other newcomers, but the *cabildo* bypassed the governor and pleaded directly to the viceroy to overturn the governor's decision to build any new acequias in the villa (Cox 2005: 36-37). As with the presidial settlers' original petitions for land and water a few years earlier, the *cabildo* again successfully blocked acequia

expansion through administrative tactics. This same pattern occurred again over 20 years later, when in 1762 another group of citizens petitioned Governor Angel de Martos y Navarrete for permission to construct the acequia that had been previously ordered by Governor Manuel de Sandoval (Navarrete 1762a). Despite Governor Navarrete's approval and the appointment of Geronimo Flores to design the project, the new integrated *cabildo* most likely used similar tactics to delay the decision indefinitely, and the acequia was not constructed and no lands were distributed (ibid.).

It was not until 1776 when Bexar was amidst a six-year drought that the construction on the new acequia in the *Labor de Arriba* (upper fields) actually began (Cox 1999: 322). This acequia and its surrounding lands were originally meant to serve the Adaesano immigrants who had arrived in San Antonio three years earlier as a result of Spain's withdrawal from East Texas and the closing of the mission and presidio. However, the *cabildo* of the 1770s and 1780s recognized the Adaesanos as a threat (as the descendants of the pobladores of Los Adaes) to their established hierarchy and suggested that the Adaesanos settle on the San Marcos, Guadalupe, or Cibolo Rivers (Figure 2-1; Poyo 1991: 100). While these suggestions were denied, because of administrative delays and petitions from the *cabildo*, a resolution for the Adaesanos was not reached until 1794 (Cox 1999: 323). In the meantime, the *suertes* and water rights along the newly constructed upper labor acequia that had been promised to the Adaesanos were granted to shareholders from the villa and presidio who had clear ties to the *cabildo* (ibid: 323). The Adaesano resolution, when it was finally met, granted the settlers the land and water rights to the secularized Mission Valero, except that after twenty years of waiting, only a fraction of the Adaesano families (eighteen of original sixty-three petitioners) remained in *Béxar* to accept their grants (Poyo and Hinojosa 1991: 100).

The story of the expansion of the upper labor acequia is yet another example of how San Antonio's original settlers were able to exert their power over the community through their control

of the villa's acequia and water rights. In this case, evidence suggests that the *cabildo* contested and ignored orders to build a new acequia in the upper labor for over forty years to maintain the exclusivity of the San Pedro Acequia, limit the available water rights, and ensure their monopoly. The *cabildo*'s protests against Adaesano settlement the delayed the resolution and ensured that those invested in the villa would receive access to the upper labors and excluded the potentially threatening immigrants. As before with the establishment of the San Pedro Acequia, the *cabildo*'s management of the upper labor acequia resulted in making the San Pedro Acequia an extremely important commodity they used to create separation between renters and modes of production. Their control of water resources made the community reliant upon these elite citizens who were also able to directly influence who could settle, where they could settle in the villa, and how they would fit into established social hierarchies. In this sense, by controlling access to water and water distribution, the *cabildo* created and maintained social power, and by controlling the expansion of the villa's acequia they determined how the community grew.

Daily Practices and the Acequias

The examples from the archival record presented above provide insight into the relationships between the acequias and the colonial settlers that were meaningful in establishing the practices and social hierarchies that were important to define the character of the colonial community. Through Spanish water laws, the *sistema de castas*, and prescribed rules of colonial settlement, the irrigation systems in colonial San Antonio came to be directly associated with the villa's prominent citizens who used the acequia as a source of social power that was reaffirmed through daily practices in the community. The *pobladores'* commodification of water rights and the various other strategies utilized by the *cabildo* to maintain the exclusivity of the San Pedro Acequia and to prevent the Adaesanos' settlement represent the objectified practices that created class separation through the relationships between structures, subjects and objects. Although I am specifically arguing that the

acequia worked within these relationships to produce social class, from a broader perspective the acequia system in San Antonio influenced how the community moved about the city, how they worked the land, and when they worked their land, it also determined the spatial boundaries of the community, the shapes and sizes of their land plots, it named streets, and it was the source of the water they drank and they used for all their daily tasks. In the truest sense, the acequias habituated the community, as these prominent ditches on the landscape were an essential and unavoidable component of everyday life.

Although my argument proposes that prominent *Béxareños* controlled and exploited the acequias as sources of social power and financial gain, the community normalized these processes because the acequias were engrained in the community's essential daily practices. Again, in the most general sense, the separation of the object (the acequias) from the subject (the community) is nearly impossible. The acequias shaped neighborhoods and determined neighbors, an individual's luck (*suerte*) tied agents and their families to the acequia and the rest of the community. The acequias initiated relationships between the villa and the mission, they required community-wide cooperation in cleaning and maintenance, and they shaped social and political organizations. In this sense, interaction between the community and the acequias played roles in structuring normal ways of being in *Béxar* that included concepts as basic as irrigating fields to as complex as social class and social power. Although these practices were normalized, the community as a whole recognized the depth of importance of the acequias in the processes of structuring a range of social structures; the numerous petitions against the *Isleños* regarding water rights are testaments to the fact that the community fully realized the acequias' significance. Instead, the community objectified these practices within complex webs of subject-object relationships that also lent to the legitimacy of the *cabildo*'s power and reified the *pobladores'* social status.

The normalized, yet clearly present social power within the relationship between the acequias and the elite citizens took many forms, some as obvious as the commodification of water rights. Others took more naturalized forms that included yearly maintenance schedules and other forms of management that positioned the community within a covert land tenure system under the *cabildo*. The *cabildo* conducted these management practices through administrative strategies to impose its power, but also worked within a system that only recognized (but also ignored) official grants, legal titles, and viceregal orders. This "institutionalized materiality" produced power exclusively at the administrative level and reproduced status among those within the political administration (Miller 2005: 20).

At this level of analysis Alfred Gell's (1998) concept of abduction is recognizable; the acequias (or lack of them), distributed the intentions of the elite citizens among the community through controlling modes of production, ensuring monopolization, and displacing the Adaesanos. Similarly, the acequias helped to create political landscapes; the *cabildo's* authority flowed across the landscape through their control of the San Pedro Acequia and was integrated into daily practices through their enforcement of water laws (Smith 2003). Although I do not attempt to scrutinize how the acequia system may have imbued the missions with power, it is reasonable to suggest that the missions' acequias worked as extensions of these institutions and politicized the indigenous landscape by encouraging conversion practices through labor. In this same way, the San Pedro and upper labor acequias distributed the politics of the *cabildo* and the elite citizens who comprised the town council throughout the landscape in ways that materialized authority and reproduced social status.

Conclusion

The acequias remained a significant source of social power into the nineteenth century despite the governor's -order to dissolve the *cabildo* in 1806 due to claims that the town council was

abusing their power. However, local politicians who previously represented the *cabildo* during the eighteenth century continued to manage an expanded acequia system in the nineteenth century. In 1819 massive flooding devastated the villa; although the result of heavy rains the effect was attributed to the Concepción Acequia. After the flood and concomitant epidemics, calls were made throughout the community to close the Concepción Acequia, but reminiscent of earlier management strategies, these protests were ignored and the acequia remained functional until 1868 (Cox 2005: 40). Portions of the acequias served as irrigation ditches well into the twentieth century, although many more were used as open trash ditches in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a practice that defines acequia archaeology in San Antonio. More important, these practices led to water contamination and epidemics that spread easily throughout the city, serving as regular reminders of the acequias' power.

Although primarily no longer in use, the acequia system in San Antonio today is reflected in the city's unique street plan where Acequia Street is synonymous with Main Street and the trapezoidal-shaped city lots that trace the boundaries of the old acequias give the city its character. While the contours and street names reflect the enduring influence of the acequias, they also continue to distribute their influence in less obvious ways. During the twentieth century numerous sections of the acequias were converted to storm water drains, acting unseen as methods of flood control and water conservation. Similarly, these now hidden ditches have also affected numerous development projects and since the 1970s. Archaeologists in San Antonio have located and recorded portions of various acequias all over the city, that have resulted in delaying, and occasionally redesigning, projects to integrate the historical resource into the project design.

The archival, legal, and anecdotal evidence presented above provides insight into how the materiality of the acequia objectified the cultural practices that produced social status and

community identity. Intertwined within processes of subject-object formation, the acequias assisted in establishing the status of the *Isleños* in the early years of settlement, helped to reify the status of *pobladores* (in general) when *Isleño* and military settlers created social and political alliances in the 1740s and 50s, and prevented others from contesting these statuses when potentially competing immigrants arrived in the late eighteenth century. All the while, the acequias engaged the community in labor and daily practices that habituated its citizens and helped to determine the social and physical characteristics of the community. This level of analysis ultimately leads to a philosophical interpretation that proposes that the acequias were so deeply integrated into the social and physical structures of colonial San Antonio that attempts to disentangle these subject-object-structure relationships are futile, indicating the significance of an analytical perspective rooted in materiality.

My goals for this chapter were to elaborate on my interpretations of materiality and to provide a background to some of the historical circumstances and social practices that *Tejanos* referenced in processes of identification. The acequias serve as a convenient entry point into a broader discussion about materiality and identity because they provide an example of how specific objects contributed to the ordering of everyday life and the development of the community and the community's identity. More important, as features associated with water and the landscape, an analysis of the materiality of the acequias evokes a discussion of significant and defining characteristics of the community like social status and social power. Materiality works at various levels and the mundane objects of everyday life are just as meaningful in subject formation as overt features like the acequias. In the next three chapters I examine the archaeological remains from the homes of a handful of prominent *Béxareño* families to gain insights into the household objects and material practices that were integral to the process of *Tejano* identity formation over time.

Chapter 5 : The Spanish Governor's Palace: 41BX179

Introduction

The structure presently located at the northwest corner of the Plaza de Armas (modern-day Military Plaza) known as the Spanish Governor's Palace (41BX179) is not much of a palace and was never actually where the Spanish Governor lived (Figure 5-1) Instead, the origin of the moniker is likely attributed to the twentieth century romanticizing of the period in the early nineteenth century when it was occupied by local celebrity, Maria Gertrudes Pérez and her husband, former Governor Manuel Antonio Cordero y Bustamante. Although the modest structure and adjoining garden was never actually the standing Governor's house, the property was historically associated with prominent military families including the Menchaca and Pérez families during at least the second half of the eighteenth century and likely has always been an important household in *Béxar*.

Like the structure itself, the archaeological investigations at the locale were also modest and limited to a small effort on the lot immediately north of the existing structure in 1976 (Fox 1977), and three test units along the front wall of the existing structure in 1996 (Fox 1997; Figure 5-2). In both cases, the archaeological investigations were cultural resource management projects with limited schedules and budgets that spent a considerable amount of time and money discerning the differences between modern disturbances and intact deposits in a highly developed part of downtown San Antonio. Despite these limiting factors and a high level of disturbances, the investigations produced some of the only evidence for what appears to be early to mid-eighteenth century domestic occupation in the town of *San Fernando de Béxar*. As such, the collections from these two excavations serve as my case study for the material conditions of the *Tejano* community during the early to mid-eighteenth century.

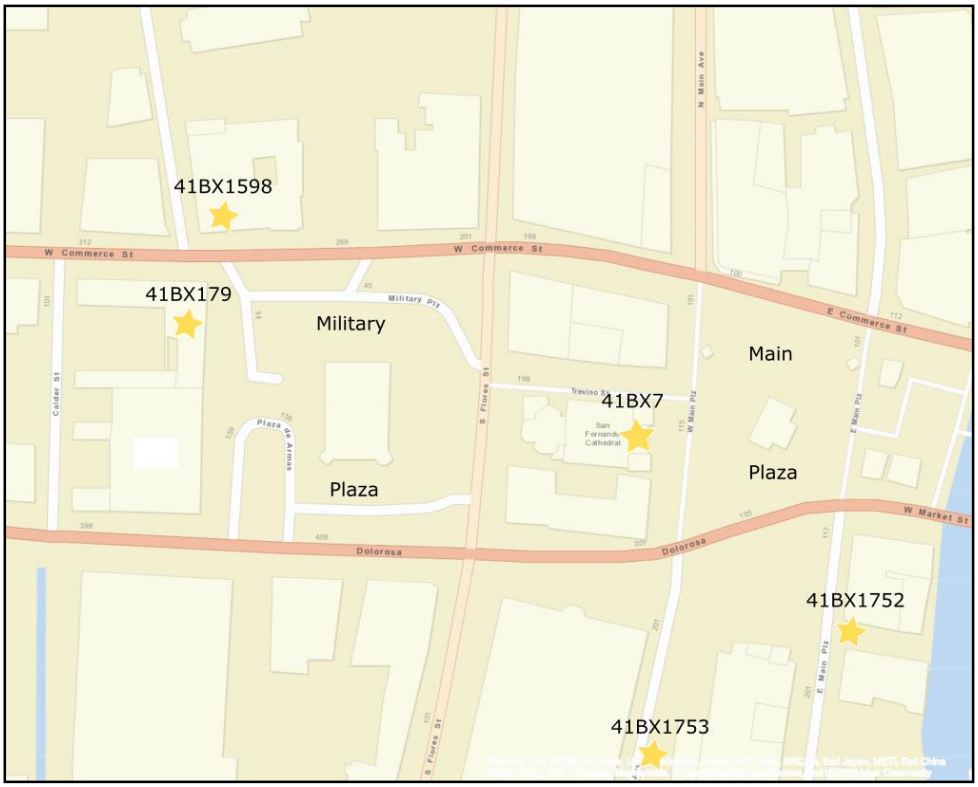

Figure 5-1: Location of Spanish Governor's Palace (41BX179) in Relation to Other Case Study Sites.

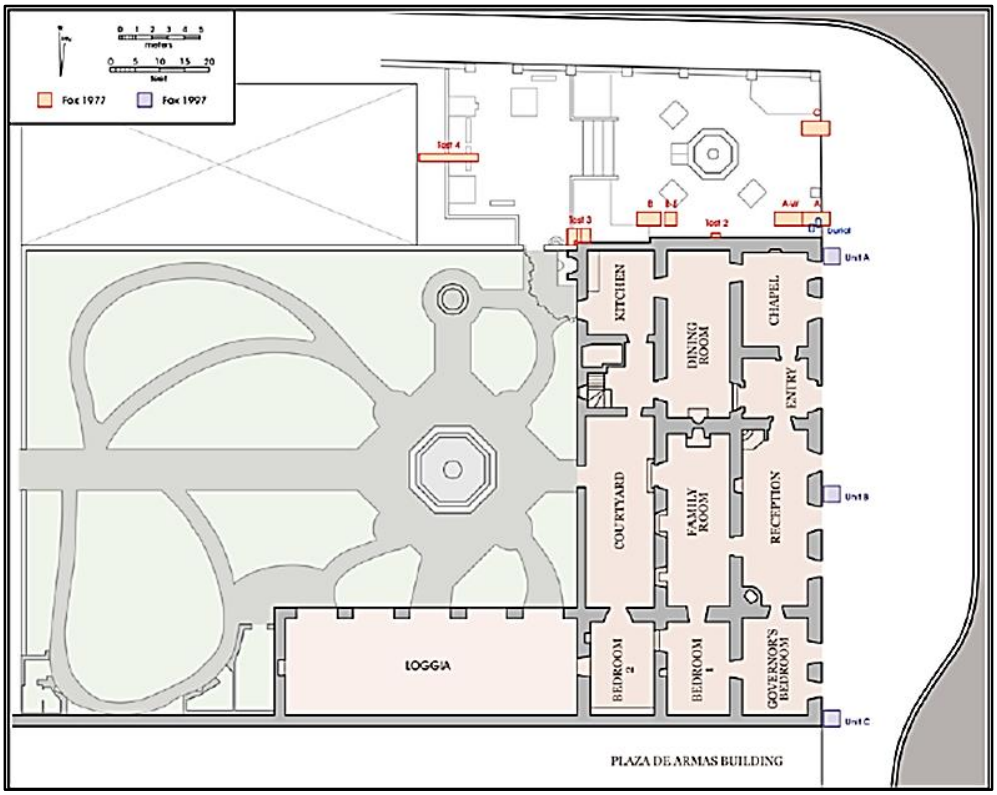

Figure 5-2: Investigated Areas at 41BX179 during the 1976 and 1996 Excavations.

The following chapter begins with a summary of the archival history of the tracts where the structure known as the Spanish Governor's Palace presently sits. A reevaluation and reanalysis of the 1976 and 1997 field efforts and a presentation of the associated collections that attempt to better define the chronology of the site as well as highlight trends recognized in the material culture follows. From this exercise, I conclude that during the early to mid-eighteenth century, daily life in *Béxar* relied heavily on local resources and regional innovations that in turn played a significant role in constructing a distinct regional identity.

Archival History

As suggested, the structure currently located at the northwest corner of the Military Plaza known as the Spanish Governor's Palace (41BX179), was never actually the Spanish Governor's Palace. Instead, the name along with the title, *La Comandancia* originated from a preservation campaign in the early twentieth century, and although the structure may have at one time housed the governor's office, it was more than likely that the building was the residence of the Presidio captain or the home of various other prominent *Béxareño* families with ties to the military (Hafertepe 2003: 239). Although the keystone over the entrance to the still-standing stone structure depicts a Hapsburg coat-of-arms and the date 1749, the specifics of the early history of the site's location are unclear. After a devastating fire in 1721, the presido was relocated to its permanent location in the vicinity of the present-day Military Plaza (Plaza de Armas) in 1722. Governor and Captain General of Coahuila and Texas, the Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo originally proposed an ambitious plan for the presidio, but as was the case in many of the frontier fortifications, the presidio at the Plaza de Armas was never much more than a partial wall, two towers, and some modest structures and *jacales* (Buckley 1911: 55; Fox 1997: 2). The archival record of course never refers to the structure at 41BX179 as the Spanish Governor's Palace or even the Spanish Governor's residence. The Spanish governors of Texas did not reside in *Béxar* until the capital was moved there in the 1770s, and Juan Maria Vicencio de Ripperdá, the first governor to

live in *Béxar,* lived in the *Casas Reales* on the east side of the Main Plaza (Ivey 2004: 111). In fact, on his *visita* to *Béxar* in 1762, Governor Ángel de Martos y Navarrete described the west side of the Military Plaza as the location of "the Captain's house with its royal store built of very strong stone and other houses of the same material belonging to certain settlers and soldiers" ("*la casa el* [sic] *capítan con su tienda real y contro bienfuerte y otras casas yden* [illegible] *ferentes vesinos y soldados"*; Navarrete 1762b). Although Navarrete did not specify who occupied the *Casa del Capítan* in 1762, Don Thoribio Urrutia was Captain of the presidio during the Governor's *visita*, and likely lived at the location. Thoribio Urrutia died a little over a year after Navarrete's visit to *Béxar* and was replaced by his nephew, Luis Antonio Menchaca [1713-1793] who served as the presidial Captain between 1763 and 1773. Following Navarrete's orders to Thoribio from the previous year, Menchaca created the *Mapa del Presidio De San Antonio de Béxar* in 1764 that depicts the entire community including a structure in the same location of the "modern" Spanish Governor's Palace at the northwest corner of the Military Plaza and in a similar configuration to the present-day property with a large rectangular building and a walled-in yard on the north side (Figure 5-3). While Menchaca did not identify the location as his home, it is likely that he, as Capitan of the presidio, occupied the property like Thoribio did before him, because according to José Ramón de Urrutia y de las Casas' [1739-1803] 1767 map of *Béxar* the structure at this location is labeled as the *Casa del Capitán* (Figure 5-3)[4].

[4]Past authors (Fox 1997: 2 and Ulrich n.d.: 4) confused engineer, cartographer, and eventual captain-general of the Spanish Army, José Ramón de Urrutia y de las Casas with explorer, settler, and eventual *Béxar* presidial captain, José de Urrutia (1678-1741) and suggested that Urrutia's designation of the *Casa del Capitan* was a reference to his own home. Captain José de Urrutia was not alive in 1767, and it is well documented that Urrutia y de las Casas was the cartographer for the Marqués de Rubí's inspection of the frontier between 1766 and 1768 and that he was responsible for the 1767 map (Jackson 2015).

Figure 5-3: 1764 *Mapa Presidio De San Antonio de Béxar* by Luis Antonio Menchaca. A: Spanish Governor's Palace (41BX179); B: Plaza de Armas; C: San Fernando Cathedral (41BX7); D: Plaza de las Islas; E: Delgado House (41BX1753); F: Núñez-Arocha House (41BX1598); G: Padrón-Cháves Midden (41BX1752): H: Barrio del Potrero (Menchaca 1764, Courtesy of John Carter Brown Library at Brown University).

Captains Thoribio Urrutia and Luis Antonio Menchaca were descendants of the oldest settler families in *Béxar* and their lineages represent the region's earliest prominent military families. Thoribio Urrutia was the son of Captain José de Urrutia's [1668-1741] who came to Texas in 1691 with the Domingo Terán de los Rios expedition, but "suffered an accident," and stayed in the region to live among indigenous groups in south central Texas and lead campaigns against the Apache (Wade 1998:292). He subsequently moved south to the Rio Grande to assist with the establishment of Mission San Juan Bautista, where Thoribio was likely born, before moving back to *Béxar* in 1733 to serve as the presidial Captain (Gibson 2014a; Wade 1998: 292). José de Urrutia's appointment to the post was a result of his experiences living in south central Texas and his knowledge of the Apache, but his influence

in the region was so strong that he maintained the position for life and ensured that he was replaced by his son, Thoribio (Wade 1998: 293).

Thoribio served as *Capitán* for over twenty years between 1740 and 1762 and followed in father's footsteps to lead numerous campaigns against the Apache (Matovina et al. 2013: 56, Wade 1998: 293-295; 422). Thoribio also married into the position when he wed Maria Josefa Flores de Valdéz [unknown-unknown] the daughter of the original presidial captain, Captain Nicholás Flores de Valdéz [unknown-1731] who served in that position from 1722 until his death in 1731 (Gibson 2014a).

Luis Antonio Menchaca was both Thoribio's nephew and eventually, his stepson-in-law. Menchaca came to *Béxar* when he was only six years old with his father, Francisco Menchaca [1695-before 1757], a soldier in Martin de Alarcón's 1718 founding expedition, and his mother, Antonia de Urrutia [between 1697-1698-1747], first-born daughter of Captain José de Urrutia's (Gibson 2014a; Jackson 2015a). He also married Ignacia Núñez Morillo (1731-1800], the granddaughter of the original presidial captain, Captain Nicholás Flores de Valdéz and the daughter of Miguel Núñez Morillo [unknown-unknown], a soldier who arrived at the presidio in the early 1720s, and of Maria Josefa Flores de Valdéz [unknown-unknown] who later married Thoribio Urrutia [1710-1763]. Although it was never formalized, the position of presidial capitan in *Béxar* was hereditary, and Luis Antonio Menchaca followed his grandfather-in-law, his grandfather, and succeeded his uncle/stepfather-in-law, to become *Capitán* in 1763, a position he held for ten years concurrently with the position of *justicia mayor* of the villa of San Fernando (Jackson 2015a).

While Luis Antonio could certainly tout a distinguished military lineage, he was also one of the region's original and most prominent ranchers. The title to his Rancho San Francisco is one of the earliest and dates to a 1758 compromise with Andrés Hernández (see below) which granted Luis a massive land holding of eleven leagues and four *caballerías* in prime grazing lands situated in the wedge

of land between the San Antonio River and the Cibolo Creek known as *Portero del Rincón* or *El Rincón* (Jackson 1986: 63-64). As one of the earliest and most active ranchers, Luis was named the leader of the private ranchers in their dispute with the missions over the ownership of wild cattle, or *Los Mesteños*, a position that helped him accumulate wealth and made him the richest man in the province of Texas by 1779 (ibid.). His great wealth may not have only been a result of his cattle ranching endeavors, as evidence also indicates that Luis was involved in the contraband trade, and on at least one occasion he assisted his brother and nephew in hiding contraband goods on his ranch lands (See Chapter 8 for further discussion; Cabello 1780).

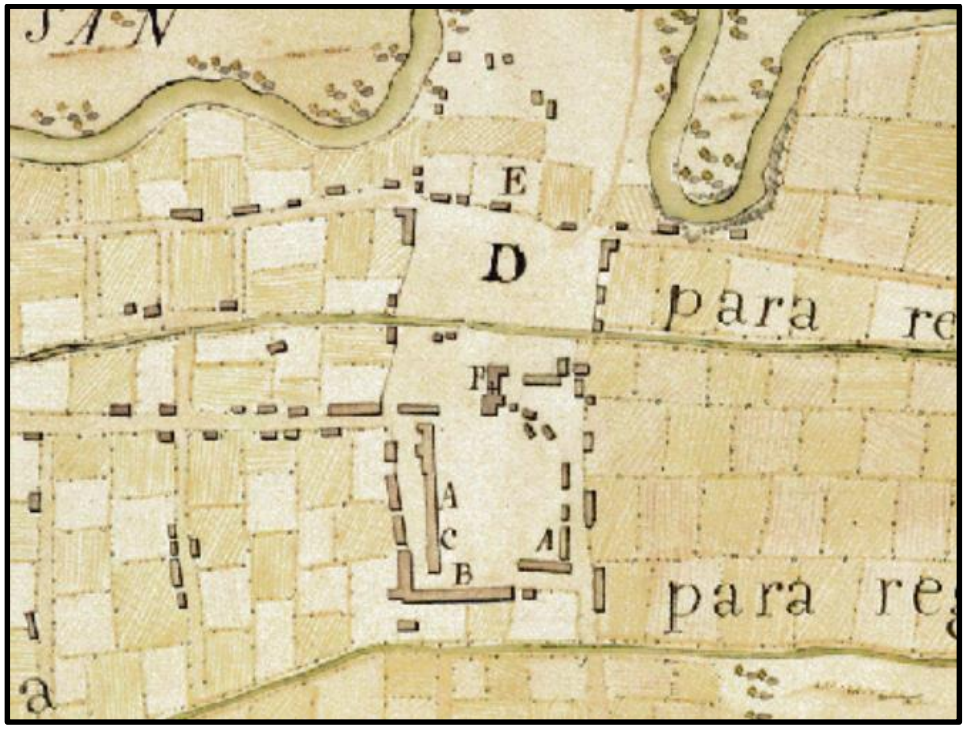

Figure 5-4: Detail of José Ramón de Urrutia y de las Casas' 1767 "San Antonio de Vejar" map depicting A: Casa del Presidio; B: Casa del Capitan; C: Cuerpo de Guardia; D: Plaza de la Villa; E: Casa Reales; F: Iglesia (Foster et al. 2006).

The evidence above suggests that Luis Antonio Menchaca inherited the Spanish Governor's Palace from the previous presidial captain and uncle/step father-in-law, Thoribio Urrutia (Weddle and

Thornhoff 1976: 61-62). However, the record indicates that after Thoribio Urrutia's death, his widow Maria Josefa Flores de Valdés was living in a home located on the north side of the Military Plaza north of "the home of Luis Antonio Menchaca with the street going to the bridge between" (Chabot 1937: 21). This evidence suggests the possibility that Thoribio may have owned and occupied the tract north of the Spanish Governor's Palace on the opposite side of present-day Commerce Street. If this true, then it still may be that Luis Antonio inherited the Spanish Governor's Palace from the Urrutia family, only it may have been through his mother, Antonia de Urrutia, daughter of Capitan José de Urrutia. It is also possible that he acquired the property through his wife's lineage, as her grandfather, Captain Nicholás Flores de Valdéz may have also occupied the tract when he arrived in San Antonio in 1722. In any case, as detailed above, Luis was related to the three of the four preceding presidial captains, and it is probable that like the captain position, Menchaca also inherited the property from one of them. As such, it is also likely that the property either was always the presidial captain's house, the house Luis Antonio grew up in, or both. Regardless, based on the 1767 map and a property transaction discussed below, the record is clear that the Spanish Governor's Palace or the *Casa del Capitán* was Luis Antonio's home from at least the 1760s until his death in 1793.

Luis Antonio's son, José Menchaca [1746-1820], inherited the Spanish Governor's Palace from his father when he died in 1793 (Menchaca 1803). Like his predecessors, José was integral to the presidio's command and served as *alferez* in the presidio company in 1771, first lieutenant of the cavalry in 1775, commander of *El Fuerte de Santa Cruz Del Cibolo*[5] (located in the vicinity of his father's Rancho San Francisco), and was acting presidio commander during Governor Domingo Cabello y Robles's nine-month absence in 1780. However, José and his father's alleged contraband activity during José's time as

[5] El Fuerte de Santa Cruz Del Cibolo was a Spanish Fort located in *El Rincón* in the vicinity of Rancho San Bartolomé on Cibolo Creek. The fort existed first between 1734 and 1737 and again from 1771 to 1782 and was established to protect the Mission and private ranches between San Antonio and La Bahia (Thorhoff 2015b).

acting commander led to José's arrest and reassignment to the presidio at San Juan Bautista in 1780 (Cabello 1780; Jackson 2015b). José subsequently served as commander of Presidio Agua Verde in 1783 and as captain in Coahuila until he retired from service in 1801 (Jackson 2015b). Upon retirement, José married Maria Encarnación Rodriguez [between 1745 and 1785-unknown] in Chihuahua and returned to *Béxar* where he sold the *Casa del Capitán* to Juan Ygnacio Pérez for 800 pesos and the Rancho San Francisco to Vicente Micheli (Menchaca 1804). This transaction contains the first detailed description of the structure, and in 1801 the Spanish Governor's Palace "consist[ed] of a living room, another room, a bedroom, two hallways, and a kitchen entirely built of stone, with four stone door casements," and the house was "bounded on the east by the guardhouse and the Plaza de Armas" (ibid.).

Moving back in time, in 1764, long before José Menchaca 's acquisition of the subject tract, Luis Antonio Menchaca verbally granted the corner lot measuring five *varas*[6] by 22 *varas* and located directly north of his house to Maria Luisa Guerrero [1748-1819] (de la Teja 1995: 40; Gibson 2015b; Guerrero 1780; Guerrero 1810). The record indicates that Maria Luisa Guerrero married José Miguel Hernández [1740-unknown], the same year she claimed to have acquired the tract, and as such, it is likely that the structure depicted immediately north of the *Casa del Capitán* on the 1767 Urrutia map was the private residence of Hernández and Guerrero that was constructed sometime after Menchaca's map in 1764 when the property was depicted as having two walls, and before Urrutia's 1767 map when the property was depicted as a part of a larger compound connected to the *Casa del Capitán* (de la Teja 1995: 40-41; Fox 1977: 3; Ivey 2004: 111).

Like Menchaca, Maria Luisa Guerrero and José Miguel Hernández were both descendants of original settlers of the presidio, and were actually related: José Miguel Hernández was the son of Andrés Hernández [between 1707-1712-1769] and Juana Hoyos [1709-1785], and Maria Luisa Guerrero was the granddaughter of Cayetano Guerrero [unknown-1757] and Maria Ana Hernández [between 1707-1712-

[6] 1 *vara* = 33.33 inches (Haggard 1941: 85).

unknown], Andrés Hernández's sister (Gibson 2015b and 2015c). Andrés Hernández was born and married [1729] in La Villa de Coahuila (present-day Monclova, Coahuila) and came to *Béxar* as a soldier in the presidio in the 1720s, but he is better known as the owner and resident of Rancho San Bartolomé on Cibolo Creek, which may have been the first ranch in Texas (Thornhoff 2015a). As suggested, Andrés Hernández received the original land grant in *El Rincón* prior to 1758 from a grant his father received as early as 1736 (Thornhoff 1964). This original grant consisted of fifteen leagues and seven *labores*[7] out of which he had established four *sitios*[8] and eight *caballerías*[9] which came to be known as Rancho San Bartolomé and where Hernández claimed to reside as early as 1753 (ibid.).

Evidence suggests that José Miguel Hernández died prior to 1780, but Maria Luisa Guerrero and her children continued to live in her *chamacuero* or "hide house"[10] on the northwest corner of the Military Plaza until her death in 1819 (Fox 1977: 3; Ramos 2008: 44). Upon her death, Juan Ygnacio Pérez acquired the tract immediately north of the *Casa del Capitán* and he, as indicated above, already owned the Spanish Governor's Palace (Fox 1977: 3). Juan Ygnacio Pérez [1761-1823] represents the outcome of the integration between the *Isleño* and presidial families: he was the son of an *Isleño* descendant, Cavo (Corporal) Domingo Peres[11] [1740-unknown] and an *Agregado* descendant, Maria Concepcion de Carvajal[12] [unknown-unknown]. Furthermore, Ygnacio married Maria Marcela Clemencia Hernández [1765-unknown], a granddaughter of Andrés Hernández, which made Maria Luisa Guerrero his aunt.

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[7] 1 *labor* = 177.14 acres (Haggard 1941: 78).
[8] 1 *sitio* = 4,629.166 square yards (Haggard 1941: 83).
[9] 1 *caballería* = 105.75 acres (Haggard 1941: 73).
[10] A *Chamacuero* was similar to a jacal, except that the rubble-filled framework was covered with hides instead of plaster (Ramos 2008: 44).
[11] Son of José Antonio Peres [*sic*] Casanova [1712-1790], one of the three single men who constituted the sixteenth *Isleño* and Paula Maria Rodriguez Granado [1722-1759], the daughter of original settlers Juan Granadillo [about 1700-1730] who died on the voyage to *Béxar* and Maria Robiana de Bethéncourt [1703-1779] from Lanzarote (Gibson 2014j and 2014k)
[12] Daughter of Nicolás Carvajal [1692-unknown], and Catarina Martinez [before 1735-1766], possibly a native of Monclova who came to *Béxar* sometime after 1735 (Gibson 2014l).

Fittingly, Ygnacio was extremely active in both ranching and the military. The Pérez Rancho, also known as archaeological site 41BX274, was originally composed of four leagues located on the south side of the Medina River. As a rancher, Ygnacio served as *síndico*[13] of all ranches in his district from 1809-1810 (Jackson 2015c). Ygnacio's military career was defined by his unwavering Royalist loyalty during the decade-long Mexican War of Independence: he first served on the counter-junta that overturned the Casas Revolt in 1811, he then served as a cavalry captain for Royalist forces in the Battle of Medina in 1813, which led to his promotion to lieutenant colonel (ibid.). As lieutenant colonel, Ygnacio Pérez led successful campaigns against raiding indigenous groups and the U.S.-sponsored filibustering Long Expedition in 1819 and in 1820 (ibid.)

As owner of the Spanish Governor's Palace, it was only fitting that Ygnacnio Pérez also served as interim governor in 1816 and 1817. However, Ygnacio and his family lived at the *Casa del Capitán* long before he became interim governor and likely occupied the property shortly after he acquired it in 1804. It was during the period that the Pérez family lived at the palace that it evidently became a center of "stately functions and revels of the official families of the various regimes of Spain and Mexico" (Chabot 1931: 251). This was the setting in which Ygnacio's daughter, Maria Gertrudes Pérez [1790-1832] grew up, and so it was only appropriate that she would continue to live there after she married her first husband, former governor Manuel Antonio Cordero y Bustamante [1753-1823] in 1814 (Jackson 2015c). Although Cordero's tenure as governor from 1805 to 1807 predated their marriage, Maria Gertrudes Pérez was known locally as "*La Brigaviella,*" because she often oversaw state and military affairs at her home when her husband was absent (Curties 1936: 5). During the time she and her first husband lived there, *La Brigaviella* maintained the tradition of using the Governor's Palace as the place to host "governors, alcaldes, impresarios, diplomats, and ecclesiastics," and it is this period that defines the

[13] In 1809 Governor Salcedo divided the regions' ranches into eight districts each of which were assigned to a *Síndico,* or an official to maintain "orderly conduct of area stock raising" (Jackson 1986: 511).

Spanish Governor's Palace in San Antonio's lore (ibid: 5). Maria Gertrudes left the *Casa del Capitán* in 1822 when her husband was appointed Commandant General of the Western Interior Provinces in Durango, Mexico (Holmes 2015). However, Cordero died within a year, and in the spring of 1823, Ygnacio escorted his daughter back to *Béxar* and to her home at the Spanish Governor's Palace (Jackson 2015c).

Three years after her return, Maria Gertrudes married José Cassiano [1791-1862], a ship owner and merchant from San Remo, Italy, who made his way to New Orleans in 1816 with a British passport (Chabot 1937: 223). Once in New Orleans he established a trade network that extended into Texas, and by the early 1820s he became a resident of San Antonio where he opened a store (Strong 2015). Although known for his large land holdings in the city and in the region, he is probably best known as a supporter of the Texas War of Independence and local politician during the Republic period. Evidence however suggests that Maria Gertrudes and Cassiano did not live in the old *Comandancia* during their marriage, but rather lived in her great grandfather's house on Dolorosa Street between the Main and Military Plazas, which she inherited following her father's death in 1823 (Chabot 1937:223). Although the palace remained in the Pérez family until the 1929, the Military Plaza ceased to be a prominent residential area after the Texas War of Independence, and by the mid-1800s the old *Casa del Capitán* became a commercial property. The area witnessed further decline in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and first quarter of the twentieth century. Due to pressure by various groups of concerned citizens including the Texas Historical and Landmark Association, the City of San Antonio purchased the Spanish Governor's Palace in 1928 (Hafertepe 2003: 239).

Archaeological Investigations

Extensive repairs to the palace began shortly after the city acquired the property. Led by architect Harvey P. Smith, the renovation of the palace "was more of an archaeological than architectural problem," and from Harvey's descriptions it appears that much of the work depended on

deciphering where the original stone foundations were located (Martin 1931: 190). While it appears that Harvey's work was extensive, his notes are vague. No modern archaeological excavation occurred at the Spanish Governor's Palace until 1976 when archaeologists from the Center for Archaeological Research (CAR) at the University of Texas at San Antonio (UTSA) conducted test excavations at the proposed site of a small park located directly north of the existing structure and in the vicinity of the residence that José Miguel Hernández and Maria Luisa Guerrero acquired in 1764 and was transferred to Ygnacio Pérez in 1819.

1976 CAR Excavations

The 1976 investigations included the excavation of four test pits (Test Pits 1-4) and three excavated areas (Area A, B, and C) north of the Governor's Palace that essentially determined that "in most places, the subsurfaces have been so thoroughly disturbed by later construction during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that all other traces have been eliminated" (Fox 1977: 16; Figure 5-5). While the project area was clearly disturbed, some useful data were recovered from Areas A (caliche floors) and B (midden deposit) and the section below reevaluates these excavation areas and presents a reanalysis of the materials recovered in relation to their contexts.

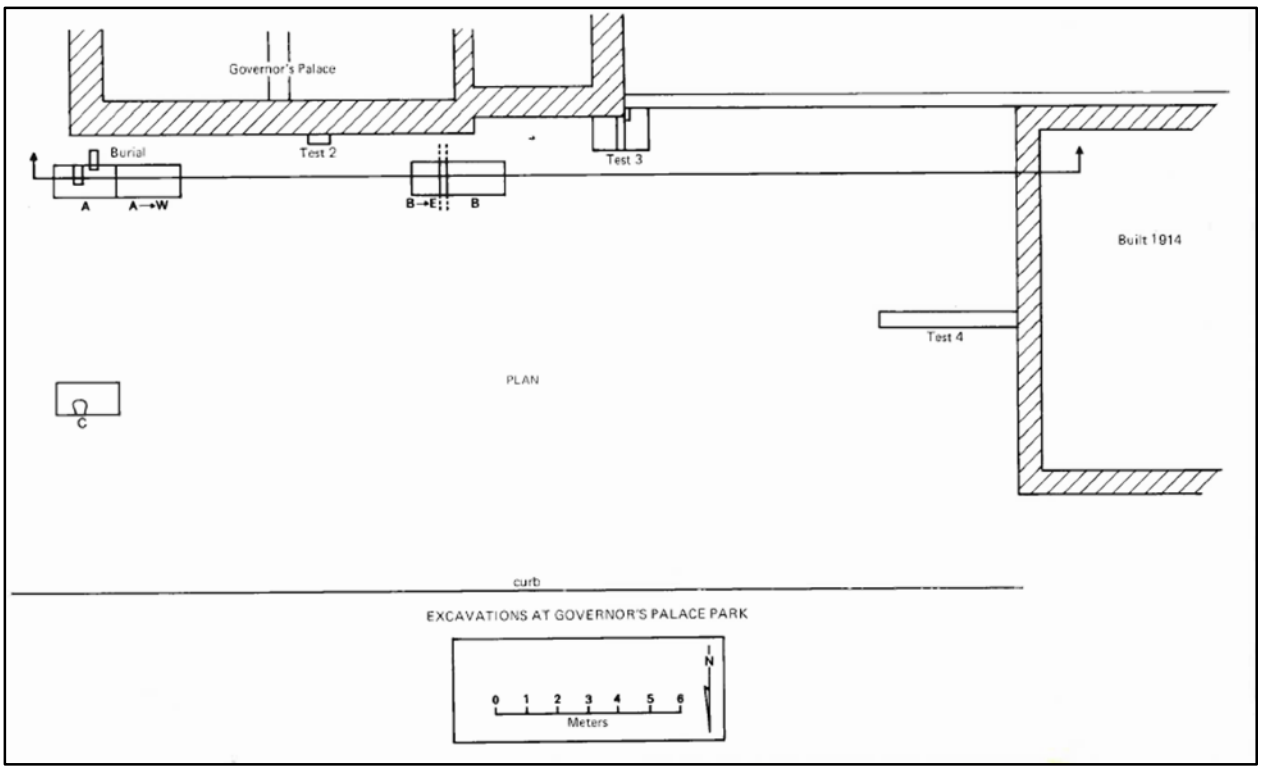

Figure 5-5: 1976 41BX179 Excavation Plan Map (Fox 1977: 28).

Area A

Excavation at Area A consisted of two 1 x 2 m units, Unit A and A-W that were oriented east to west and located 1 m north of the northeast corner of the existing structure (Figure 5-6). Within the easternmost unit (Unit A) CAR archaeologists encountered approximately 20 cm of disturbed material (Level 1, 25-45 cm below datum [cmbd]) over a caliche floor that sat just above a thin stratum of "heavily burned material" (Level 2, 45-47-cmbd; ibid.: 6). Within this zone, archaeologists recovered Mexican-made lead glaze wares (n=7) and unglazed wares (n=1) as well as a sherd of porcelain and a sherd of hand-painted pearlware among a few other items (Table 5-1). Approximately 10 cm (Level 3, 47-58 cmbd) below the burned material was a second caliche floor (Level 4, 58-60 cmbd), and between the floors CAR archaeologists recovered a relatively high number of animal bones (n=94), Spanish Colonial ceramics including sherds of Mexican-made majolica (n=1), lead glazed (n=3) and unglazed Indeterminate Coarse Earthenwares (n=2) as well as locally-made bone tempered ceramics known as

Goliad ware (n=5) and chert flakes (n=2; ibid.:39). Within the 2 cm level that composed the second caliche floor CAR archaeologists recovered more animal bone (n=47), a sherd of Puebla Polychrome majolica (n=1), a sherd of unglazed earthenware (n=1), one sherd of Goliad Ware, as well as a chain link and 2 chert flakes (ibid.:39). Another 10 cm level (Level 5, 60-70 cmbd) below the second caliche floor revealed a zone that contained similar artifacts as those just above it and included animal bone (n=49), sherds of Mexican-made majolica (n=10) including two sherds of Puebla Polychrome, lead glazed (n=1) and unglazed (n=2) earthenwares, bone tempered ceramics (n=2), an unidentified nail, a chain link, and chert flakes (n=20; ibid.).

Table 5-1: Counts of Artifacts Recovered from Unit A.

Unit Level	Depth (cmbd)	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial Ceramics	English Ceramics	Metal	Glass	Lithics	Building Materials	Mussel Shell	Total	Animal Bone
1	25-45	0	10	13	28	28	2	10	0	91	6
2	45-47	0	8	2	1	9	5	4	0	29	3
3	47-58	5	7	0	0	0	2	0	0	14	94
4	58-60	1	2	0	1	0	2	0	0	6	47
5	East 60-70	0	0	0	1	0	6	0	0	7	5
5	West 60-70	2	13	0	1	0	14	0	0	30	44
6	East 70-80	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0
6	West 70-80	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	6	0
Total		8	40	15	32	37	39	14	0	185	199

Excavation below this level was sterile (70-90 cmbd). However, once excavation of this first unit was complete, CAR archaeologists recognized a disturbance in the south wall of the unit beginning just above the level of the first caliche floor and ending just above the second caliche floor. Excavation of a small area above this disturbance revealed an infant burial complete with coffin. Because the burial shaft was excavated through the first caliche floor, CAR archaeologists determined that the burial dated

to the mid-nineteenth century, and probably took place after the building was razed and the lot was vacant (ibid.: 8).

Figure 5-6: Excavation Area A facing southeast with Unit A-W in foreground (Fox 1977: 30).

The westernmost unit (Unit A-W) at Area A was placed directly west of the first unit by CAR archaeologists to "confirm the stratigraphy and to obtain a larger artifact sample for analysis" (ibid.: 6). The existing concrete slab above this unit disturbed the context to a depth below where the first caliche floor was located, leaving a 6 cm level (Level 3, 52-58 cmbd) that generally corresponded to the second caliche floor and just above it. From this zone, CAR archaeologists recovered a similar assemblage to that found in the adjacent unit and corresponding levels with animal bone (n=95), sherds of Spanish Colonial wares including Mexican-made majolica (n=6) and lead glazed wares (n=5), but also an unusually high number of unglazed earthenware sherds (n=52) and a sherd of a Spanish olive jar and red burnished ware (ibid.: 39; Table 5-2). The level assemblage also included Goliad ware sherds (n=6), chert flakes (n=3), some plaster and brick fragments as well as an ornamental belt buckle (ibid.: 6; 39).

Table 5-2: Counts of Artifacts Recovered from Unit A-W.											
Unit Level	Depth (cmbd)	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial Ceramics	English Ceramics	Metal	Glass	Lithics	Building Materials	Mussel Shell	Total	Animal Bone
1	25-32	2	1	1	0	1	2	2	0	9	13
2	32-52	9	15	0	1	0	3	3	3	34	100
3	52-58	6	65	0	1	0	3	6	5	86	95
Total		17	81	1	2	1	8	11	8	129	208

Area B

CAR archaeologists excavated two units in Area B, Unit B, a 1 x 2 m unit located approximately 1 m north of the hypothetical original northwest corner of the Governor's Palace building and Unit B-E, a 1 x 1 m unit placed immediately east of Unit B. Excavation of Unit B revealed a disturbed context with a zone containing early nineteenth century artifacts overlaying a zone with dense mid- to- late nineteenth century artifacts. Along the eastern most wall of Unit B, CAR archaeologists encountered a limestone wall at about 38 cm below surface (cmbs). In an effort to explore this wall, CAR archaeologists opened Unit B-E. Excavation of Unit B-E revealed a 38 cm thick zone (Level 1 0-38 cmbd) that contained mid-to-late nineteenth century artifacts above a thin zone of caliche and a 20 cm thick zone of mostly sterile dark grey-brown clay with charcoal (Figure 5-7 and Figure 5-8). Below this sterile zone CAR archaeologists encountered a one-meter-thick deposit composed of four stratified zones that extended into the subsoil and was determined to be an undisturbed eighteenth century midden (Table 5-3; ibid.: 10).

Figure 5-7: View of Area B facing east with Unit B-E in background.

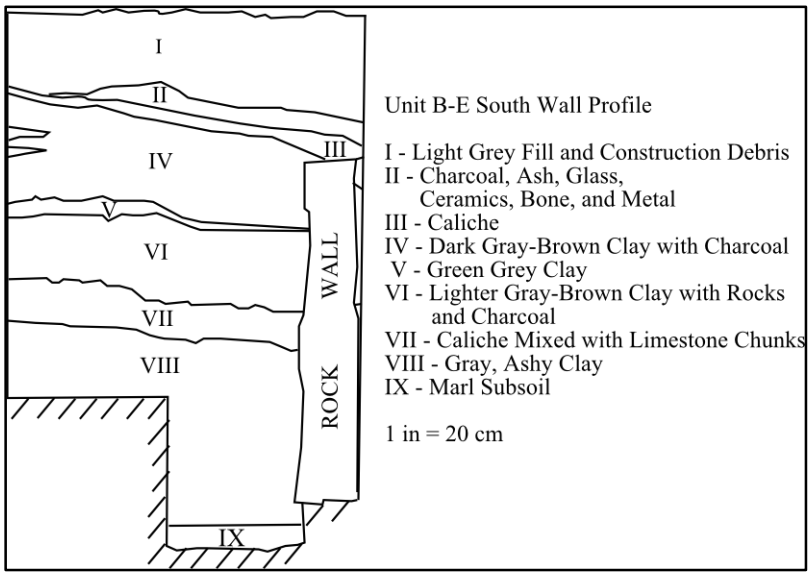

Figure 5-8: Unit B-E South Wall Profile.

Table 5-3: Counts of Artifacts Recovered from Unit B-E.											
Unit Level	Depth (cmbd)	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial Ceramics	English Ceramics	Metal	Glass	Lithics	Building Materials	Mussel Shell	Total	Animal Bone
1	0-38	0	0	11	1	19	0	0	0		14
2	38-58	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	0
3	58-70	24	24	0	0	2	11	0	0	60	107
4	70-85	6	25	0	0	1	4	0	2	38	146
5	85-95	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	1
6	95-115	24	30	0	1	0	12	0	11	78	181
7	115-135	27	21	0	0	0	1	0	1	49	185
8	135-160	184	125	0	1	0	22	0	8	340	85
Total		267	235	112	3	22	50	0	23	5789	719

Figure 5-9 displays the distribution of artifacts recovered from Unit B-E and indicates that Levels 7 (115-135) and 8 (135-160) contained the highest number of faunal material (n= 185) and artifacts (n=340) respectively. Accordingly, these same levels had the highest relative densities in the unit with 1860 animal bones per m^3 in Level 7 and 2656 artifacts per m^3 in Level 8, which in both cases are considerably higher than the overall density for the Unit at 731.65 animal bones and 558.8 artifacts per m^3. These high densities in Levels 7 and 8 lead to question Fox's interpretation of how the midden was formed and how it relates to the rock wall feature. Fox suggested that the wall was likely "a retaining wall built against the soil on the east side, then filled with the trash on the west side at a later date," and that the "depth of accumulation can be attributed to the numerous floods which have afflicted the city over the year," (ibid.: 10). However, Fox's interpretation does not account for what appears to be a footing trench that was excavated into the limestone bedrock at the bottom of the unit and that was then apparently backfilled with grey ashy clay with relatively high densities of artifacts and animal bone. If this is the case, then the lower midden deposit at the bottom of the unit may not be evidence of refuse accumulation, but rather a secondary deposit reflecting a single backfilling event associated with the construction of the wall (see discussion below).

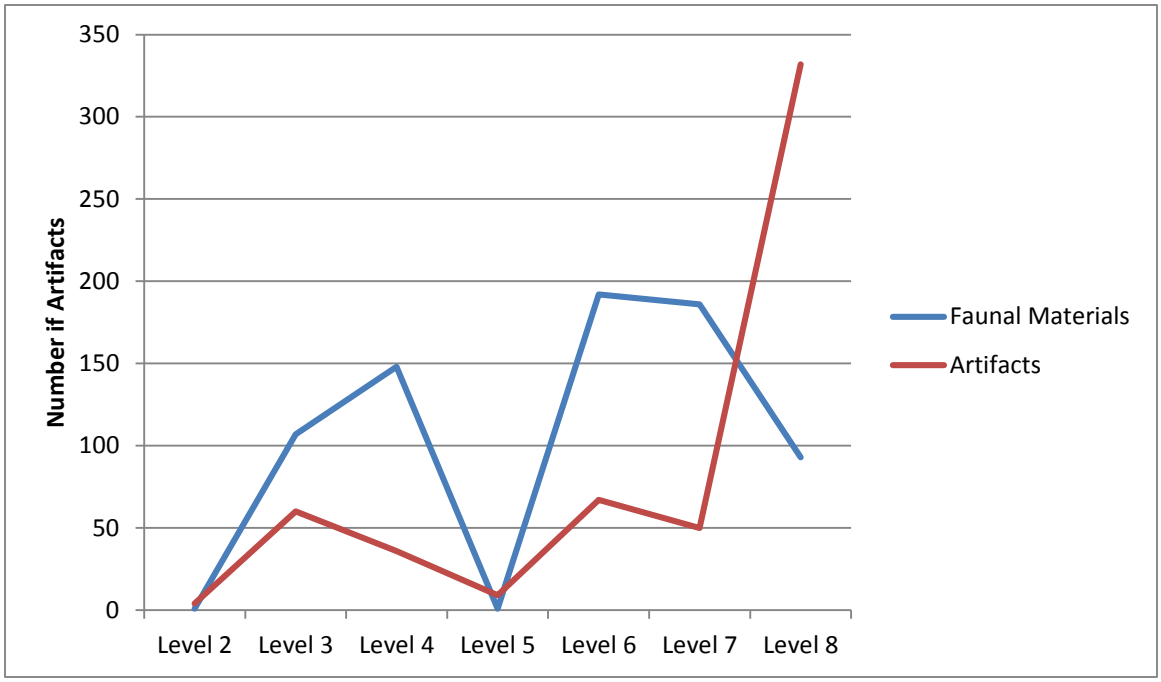

Figure 5-9: Distribution of Artifacts Recovered from Unit B-E Midden Deposit.

Artifacts

From the three units discussed above (Unit A, Unit A-W, and Unit B-E) CAR archaeologists recovered a total of 2,060 artifacts. Faunal materials (n=1157) comprise 56.16 percent of the total collection, 97.32 percent of which are animal bone (n=1126) and the remaining 2.68 percent are mussel shell (n=31). The remaining 43.83 percent of the collection is comprised of nonfaunal artifacts that are discussed below according to functional categories that reflect behavior including Kitchen, Architectural, Activity, Personal, Household, and Indeterminate.

Kitchen

Kitchen artifacts are items that are associated with domestic activities such as food preparation and consumption. Functionally categorized kitchen artifacts (n=712) compose 34.56 percent of the total collection and nearly 80 percent of all nonfaunal artifacts recovered. Included in this count is the majority of the ceramic assemblage (n=675), which accounts for 32.9 percent of the total collection and

74.7 percent of the nonfaunal artifacts. The remainder of the artifacts categorized as kitchen artifacts are fragments of bottle glass (n=37).

Ceramics

The ceramic assemblage consists of 675 sherds of which 52.44 percent are Spanish Colonial wares from Mexico (n=354), 43.25 percent are locally produced bone tempered Goliad wares (n=292), and 4.3 percent are ceramics imported from England (n=29). Table 5-4 provides a list of the 26 distinct ceramic types observed in the collection, along with the types' place of origin, production date ranges, median production date, and a sherd count for each type.

Table 5-4: 41BX179 1976 Investigation Ceramic Types

Type	Origin	Date Range	Median	Count
Annular Ware (Whiteware), Banded	English	1795-1895	1845	3
Edgeware, Scalloped and Incised	English	1802-1832	1817	1
Lustreware	English	1790-1840	1815	4
Pearlware, Hand painted	English	1775-1840	1807.5	2
Pearlware, Transfer Printed	English	1784-1840	1812	4
Pearlware, Undecorated	English	1780-1840	1810	3
Porcelain	English	1720-1850	1785	1
Rockingham	English	1850-1950	1900	1
Stoneware, Indeterminate	English	1820-1900	1860	2
Whiteware, Undecorated Ironstone	English	1830-1900	1865	6
Goliad Ware	Native	1720-1820	1770	292
Coarse Earthenware, Indeterminate	Spanish Colonial	1720-1820	1770	228
Lead-Glazed Ware, Red Brown	Spanish Colonial	1700-1800	1750	14
Lead-Glazed Ware, Yellow and Green Glaze I	Spanish Colonial	1700-1800	1750	40
Majolica, Aranama Polychrome	Spanish Colonial	1750-1850	1800	1
Majolica, Castillo Polychrome	Spanish Colonial	1700-1725	1712.5	1
Majolica, Huejotzingo Blue-on-white	Spanish Colonial	1700-1780	1740	3
Majolica, Indeterminate Decorated	Spanish Colonial	1650-1830	1740	32
Majolica Puebla Blue-on-white I	Spanish Colonial	1650-1830	1740	3
Majolica Puebla Blue-on-white II	Spanish Colonial	1775-1800	1787.5	3
Majolica, Puebla Polychrome	Spanish Colonial	1650-1725	1687.5	4
Majolica, San Agustín	Spanish Colonial	1700-1780	1740	1
Majolica, San Elizario	Spanish Colonial	1750-1850	1700	1
Majolica, Undecorated	Spanish Colonial	1720-1850	1785	12
Red Burnished Ware	Spanish Colonial	1725-1800	1762.5	8
Storage Jar, Middle Style	Spanish Colonial	1580-1780	1680	3
Tonalá Burnished Ware	Spanish Colonial	1720–1810	1765	2
Total				**675**

Spanish Colonial ceramics (n=356) comprise 52.7 percent of the ceramics recovered from Area A and Unit B-E. Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware sherds (n=228) dominate the Spanish Colonial ware assemblage, although nearly half of these unglazed sherds (n=112) were recovered from Unit B-E, Level 8. These samples display a substantial amount of variation in paste types and in some cases bone and/or shell tempers are present, but in general, these samples are similar to what Fox and Ulrich describe as Valero Red Painted ware and are the sherds of wheel-made vessels fired under controlled high oxygen conditions (Figure 5-10; Fox and Ulrich 2008: 40). However, unlike the type description by Fox and Ulrich, none of the samples recovered from the three units discussed above display the red-brown painted decorations and these samples also display a substantial amount of variation in paste color beyond the reddish-tan type description.

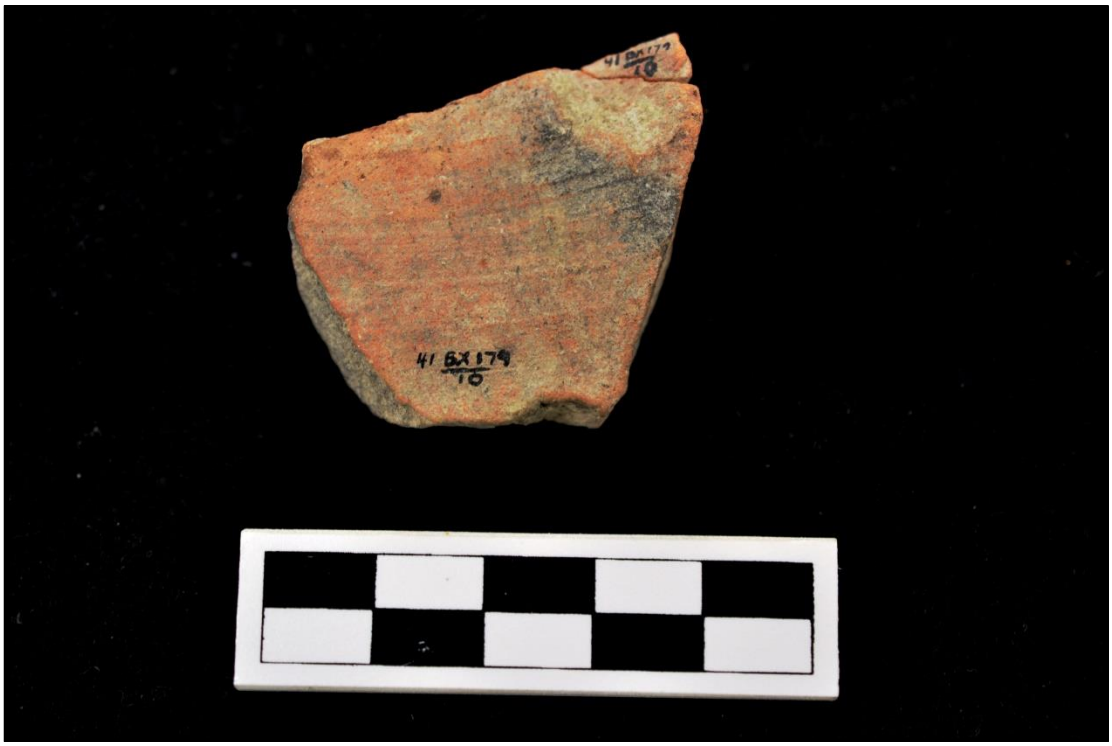

Figure 5-10: Interior of Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware sherd recovered from Unit B-E showing evidence that it was wheel-made.

Various types of majolica (n=61) represent the second most common type of Spanish Colonial ceramics in the collection and comprise 9.04 percent of the total assemblage. Nearly 64 percent of the

majolica collection was recovered from Unit B-E (n=39) almost half of which came from Levels 7 and 8 (n=16). Sherds with indeterminate decorations (n=32) and undecorated sherds (n=12) make up the majority of the majolica recovered from all three units. However, seven identifiable decorated types are present in the collection including Puebla Polychrome (n=4), Puebla Blue-on-white I (n=3), and II (n=3), Huejotzingo banded (n=3), Aranama Polychrome (n=1), Castillo Polychrome (n=1), San Agustín (n=1), and San Elizario (n=1; Figure 5-11).

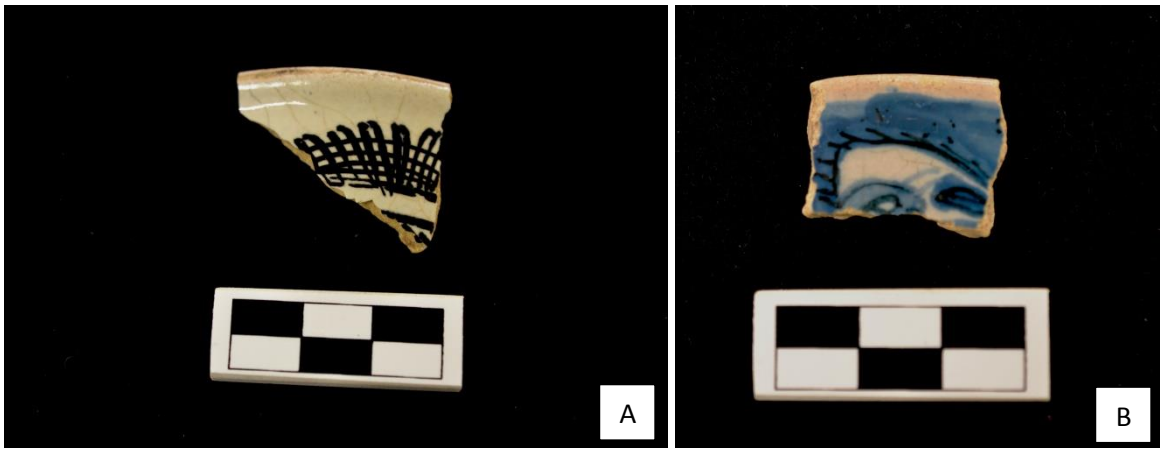

Figure 5-11: Decorated majolica recovered from Unit B-E (a) Puebla Polychrome; (b) Castillo Polychrome.

Lead-glaze wares produced in Mexico (n=54) represent eight percent of the total assemblage and are primarily composed of utilitarian sandy paste Yellow and Green Glaze I and II sherds (n=40) and fine paste Red Brown sherds (n=14). Like the types discussed above, almost half of the Yellow and Green Glaze sherds (n=19) and all but one of the Red Brown sherds (n=13) were recovered from Unit B-E. Red Burnished ware (n=8), a handmade ceramic type from Central Mexico , "Middle Style" olive jars sherds (n=3) and two sherds of Tonalá Burnished Ware round out the Spanish Colonial ceramic types recovered from Area A and Unit B.

Goliad ware (n=292) makes up 43.4 percent of the ceramics recovered from the three units and is the single most common type in the collection (Figure 5-12). Goliad ware is a "mission made," bone tempered ceramic that derives its name from the final location of the Mission Espíritu Santo de Zuñíga

(41GD1), near current day Goliad, Texas (Mounger 1959: 258). Since Mounger's initial study in 1959 that defined the type, archaeologist have recovered Goliad ware in Spanish colonial and Mexican Period contexts in and around San Antonio and down to the Texas coast, but it is most generally categorized as mission period native-made ceramics (Walter 2007: 85). However, Goliad ware is nearly identical to the bone tempered ceramics of the Toyah horizon known as Leon Plain ware and appears to be a continuation of the Late Prehistoric ceramic technology (Hester 1989: 213). As such, Goliad ware is completely defined by the historic contexts in which it is found, and in the case of the Main and Military Plazas in San Antonio, archaeologists have found Goliad in contexts that appear to date to the earliest period of occupation through at least the early nineteenth century and possibly as late as the 1830s (Hanson 2016: 205; Hester 1989: 213). Like the Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware, over half of the Goliad Ware samples (n=184) were recovered from Unit B-E, Level 8. Similarly, the Goliad Ware assemblage displays a substantial amount ofa variation in paste color and surface treatment: slipped (n=30) red painted (n=2) and incised (n=1) sherds were present in Unit A (slipped: n=1) and in Unit B-E (slipped: n= 29; red painted: n=2; incised: n=1).

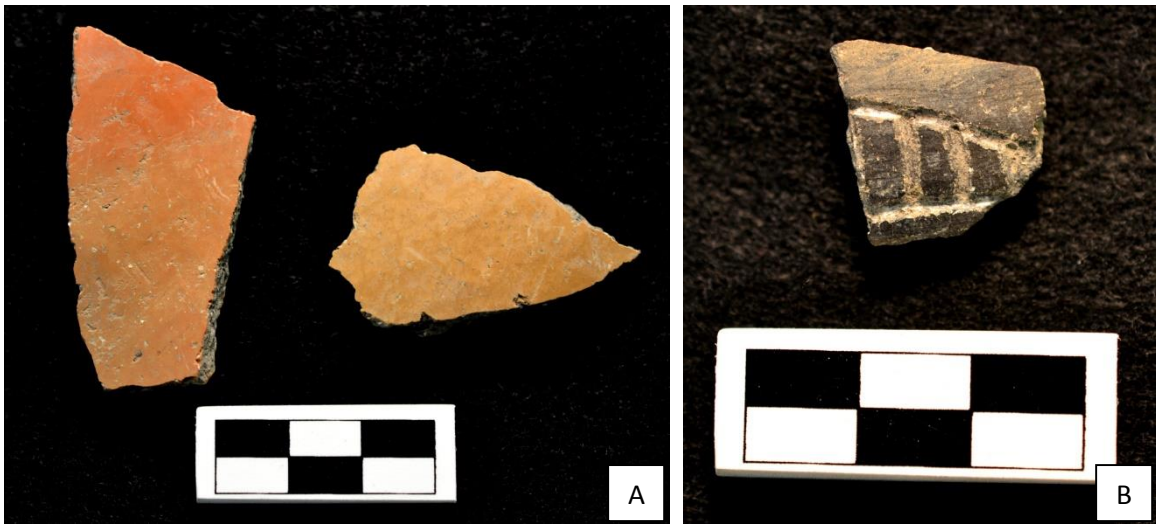

Figure 5-12 Goliad Ware with surface treatments recovered from Unit B-E (a) Slipped Goliad Ware (b) Incised Goliad Ware.

Ceramics manufactured in England (n=27) make up 4.0 percent of the total ceramic assemblage from Area A and Unit B-E. CAR archaeologists recovered the majority of the English ceramics (n=25) from Level 1 of each unit which are likely disturbed contexts. However, archaeologists did recover two sherds of English ceramics from an intact context, the first caliche floor encountered in Unit A, including a very small sherd of maroon banded pearlware and an undecorated sherd of porcelain. Neither of these sherds have an exceptionally tight period of manufacture, but the presence of hand-painted pearlware at least indicates that the caliche floor dates to a period after 1785.

Glass

Container glass (n=37) comprises the remaining 5.2 percent of artifacts functionally classified as kitchen artifacts from the three units. CAR archaeologists only recovered container glass from Units A (n=17) and B-E (n=20) and primarily from Level 1 of each unit (Unit A: n=13; Unit B-E: n=17). Aqua glass samples (n=20) make up the majority of container glass recovered, but colorless (n=7), amber (n=4), olive green (n=2), dark green (n=3), and one black glass sample (n=1) were also recovered. The samples in the container glass assemblage are all fragmented and reveal little information, although most appear to be bottle glass.

Activity

Artifacts functionally classified in the activity group (n=107) make up the second largest functional category in the collection and comprise 5.2 percent of the overall collection and 11.8 percent of the non-faunal assemblage.

Lithics

Lithics (n=97) make up the majority of the artifacts assigned to the activity group and include chert flakes (n=89), three utilized chert flakes, a unifacial chert tool, a utilized quartzite flake, and three quartzite flakes.

Metal

Metal artifacts comprise the remainder of the artifacts categorized in the activity group (n=10) and include a round ferrous bar, two ferrous chain links, a ferrous rivet, a brass strip, and lead slag recovered from Unit A, a ferrous chain link recovered from Unit A-W and a ferrous square bar, a brass strip, and lead slag recovered from Unit B-E.

Architectural

Artifacts functionally categorized as architectural items (n = 62) include brick, plaster, and stone building materials (n = 25), iron nails (n=19), a ferrous spike, and window glass (n = 17) and make up 6.8 percent of all non-bone artifacts and three percent of total collection.

Building Materials

CAR archaeologists only recovered building materials (n=25) from Units A and A-W and the assemblage and is primarily construction debris found in Level 1 of Unit A (n=10) and A-W (n=2). The remainder of the assemblage includes plaster fragments (n=7) found in both units, marble or terrazzo flooring (n=2) from Unit A, brick fragments (n=3) from Unit A-W and mortar (n=1) from Unit A-W.

Metal

CAR archaeologists only recovered metal architectural items from Units A and included wire nails (n=14), cut nails (n=4), and a ferrous spike from Level 1 and a single unidentified ferrous nail recovered from the west portion of Level 5.

Glass

CAR archaeologists recovered 17 pieces of window glass from Level 1 (n=14) and Level 2 (n=3) of Unit A.

Household

Four lamp glass sherds constitute the household items assemblage that CAR archaeologists recovered from Unit A, Level 1 (n=1) and 2 (n=2) and Unit A-W Level 1 (n=1).

Personal

Three personal items comprise the personal items assemblage. These items include a fragment of a ferrous belt buckle recovered from Unit A-W, Level 3 and a four-hole porcelain button and a glass marble recovered from Unit B-E, Level 1.

Indeterminate

CAR archaeologists recovered six pieces of indeterminate ferrous metal from Unit A, Level 1.

Faunal Material

The largest component of the collection from the three units discussed above, making up approximately 56.2 percent of the collection, consists of faunal materials (n=1,157) including animal bone (n = 1,126) and mussel shell (n = 31; Table 5-5). Billy Davidson conducted the analysis on the entire 1976 collection and determined that a high percentage of the total collection is highly fragmented. As such, 90.6 percent of the combined assemblage from Units A, A-W, and B-E is classified as indeterminate large mammal (n=167), mammal (n=869), fish (n=11), and turtle (n=1; Fox 1977: 39). Within the three-unit sample, Davidson identified thirteen different taxa to the family level, 54.1 percent of which are domesticated animals (n=59) including cattle (n=28), goat (n=17) chicken (n=13) and pig (n=1). Wild animal remains comprise 45.9 percent (n=50) of the three-unit sample and are primarily riverine animals (n=47) including freshwater mussel shell (n=31), gar (n=7), yellow catfish (n=4), softshell turtle (n=1), blue catfish (n=1), and black bass (n=1), but also includes the white-tail deer (n=1), black or roof rats (n=1) and opossum (n=1).

Table 5-5: 41BX179 1976 Investigation Faunal Collection.

Scientific Name	Common Name	NISP	% of NISP
Bovid	Cow/Bison	28	25.7
Capra sp.	Domestic Goat	17	15.6
Gallus gallus	Chicken	13	11.9
Ictalurus furcatus	Blue Catfish	1	0.9
Lampsilis	Freshwater Mussel	31	28.4
Lepisosteus sp.	Gar	7	6.4
Micropteris sp.	Black Bass	1	0.9
Odocoileus virginianus	White-tail Deer	1	0.9
Oidelphis marsupialus	Opossum	1	0.9
Pylodictis olivaris	Yellow Catfish	4	3.7
Rattus sp.	Rodents	1	0.9
Sus Scrofa	Domestic Pig	1	0.9
Trionix sp.	Softshell Turtle	3	2.8
Total NISP		109	
Large Mammal ("Bovid Size") Indeterminate		167	
Mammal, Indeterminate		869	
Fish, Indeterminate		11	
Turtle, indeterminate		1	
Total		**1,157**	

Davidson organized his analysis of the identified faunal materials according to their context and divided the collection between eighteenth and nineteenth century deposits (Fox 1977: 11). Davidson did not identify how he determined these contexts in the report, but for the purpose of this analysis the eighteenth century deposits include the undisturbed portions of Unit A (Level 2-6), A-W (Level 3), and Unit B-E (Levels 2-8), while the nineteenth century deposits include Unit A, Level 1, Unit A-W, Levels 1 and 2, and Unit B-E, Level 1 (Table 5-6). Although the sample of identified species is very small, dividing the assemblage according to the context highlights trends recognized above including near even proportions of domesticated animals (n=48; 52.7 percent) and wild animals (n=43; 47.3 percent) in the eighteenth century deposits while there is a higher proportion of domesticated animals (n=11; 61.1 percent) compared to wild animals (n=7; 38.9 percent) in the nineteenth century contexts. The nineteenth century sample of identified species is probably too small to draw significant conclusions

about diet during the period. However, the eighteenth century collection indicates that domesticated animals, primarily cattle (n=21) and wild riverine resources (n=42) may have served important roles in the eighteenth century diet in San Antonio, evidence that led Fox to theorize that it was a result of "the physical restrictions imposed by the constant threat of Apache depredations, which forced its citizens to rely on food close at hand" (Fox 1977: 12).

Table 5-6: 41BX179 1976 Investigation Comparison of Faunal Materials According to Context.

	EighteenthCentury		NineteenthCentury	
Scientific Name	NISP	%	NISP	%
Bovid	21	23.1%	7	38.9%
Capra sp.	14	15.4%	3	16.7%
Gallus gallus	12	13.2%	1	5.6%
Ictalurus furcatus	1	1.1%	0	0.0%
Lampsilis	26	28.6%	5	27.8%
Lepisosteus sp.	7	7.7%	0	0.0%
Micropteris sp.	1	1.1%	0	0.0%
Odocoileus virginianus	0	0.0%	1	5.6%
Oidelphis marsupialus	1	1.1%	0	0.0%
Pylodictis olivaris	4	4.4%	0	0.0%
Rattus sp.	0	0.0%	1	5.6%
Sus Scrofa	1	1.1%	0	0.0%
Trionix sp.	3	3.3%	0	0.0%
Total NISP	**91**	**100%**	**18**	**100%**

Discussion

As a result of the 1976 excavations, Fox concluded that "evidence of the earliest Spanish colonial structures on the site apparently consist of a few remnants of the front wall and two related caliche floors [revealed] in Area A," and that in most places the subsurface [has] been so thoroughly disturbed [that] all other traces have been eliminated" (Fox 1977: 16). While the context was clearly disturbed in many of the areas CAR investigated in 1976, it is unclear why Fox did not go into further detail about the intact stratified midden in Unit B-E or the floor features uncovered in Unit A and A-W and the possible

relationships between the midden and the floors. While direct correlations between the midden and floors are difficult to establish, these features do provide insight into the occupational history of the property and glimpses into the material practices of the eighteenth and possibly early nineteenth centuries.

Although the Area A collection (n=721) is a little more than half the size of the Unit B-E collection (n=1,330), in general the two collections are similar to each other and include high volumes of faunal materials (n=407; 56.4 percent and n=719; 54.1 percent of each respective assemblage), ceramics produced in Mexico (n=120; 74 percent and n=234; 45.6 percent of each respective ceramic assemblage), with high proportions of Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware (n=73; 45 percent and n=155; 30.2 percent of each respective ceramic assemblage) and Goliad Ware (n=25; 15.4 percent and n=267; 52.3 percent of each respective ceramic assemblage). Despite the similarities between the two collections and the actual proximity of the two excavation areas (less than 10 meters apart), a series of chi-square tests indicates that there are no statistically significant relationships between the two floors located in Area A (Level 2 and 4) and the zones in the Unit B-E midden. However, Figure 5-13 and Figure 5-14 display the proportional compositions of the ceramics assemblages in Unit A and Unit B-E and reveal that there may be a correlation between the zones below floor 1 in Unit A (Levels 3, 4 and 5) and the upper midden deposit (Level 2, 3, and 4) and the caliche zone (Level 5) in Unit B-E. In both cases across the aforementioned zones, there is a slight increase in the proportion of Goliad Ware and a concomitant decrease in the proportion of Spanish Colonial wares. Similarly, the contexts share nearly identical proportions of Goliad Ware and Spanish Colonial Ware with averages of 29.3 and 30.5 percent Goliad Ware and 68 and 69.5 percent Spanish Colonial Wares from the zones below floor 1 in Unit A (Levels 3, 4, and 5) and the levels composing the upper midden deposit and the caliche zone in Unit B-E (Levels 2, 3, 4 and 5). Unfortunately, there does not appear to be a zone in the Unit B-E midden that corresponds to Floor 1 in Unit A. However, the sudden appearance of English ceramics in Unit B-E, Level

1 including ironstone whiteware (n=5) and stoneware (n=2) indicates that the uppermost levels of the midden deposit were likely disturbed and the context that may have correlated to Floor 1 is likely missing.

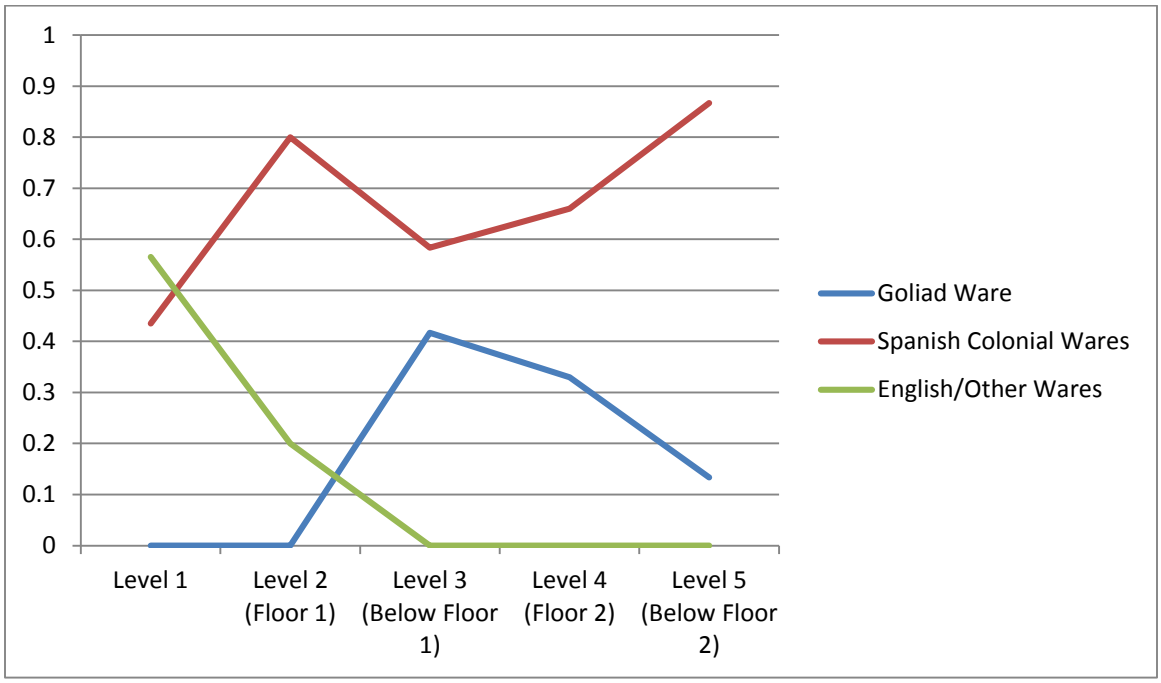

Figure 5-13: Unit A Distribution of Ceramic Types by Proportion.

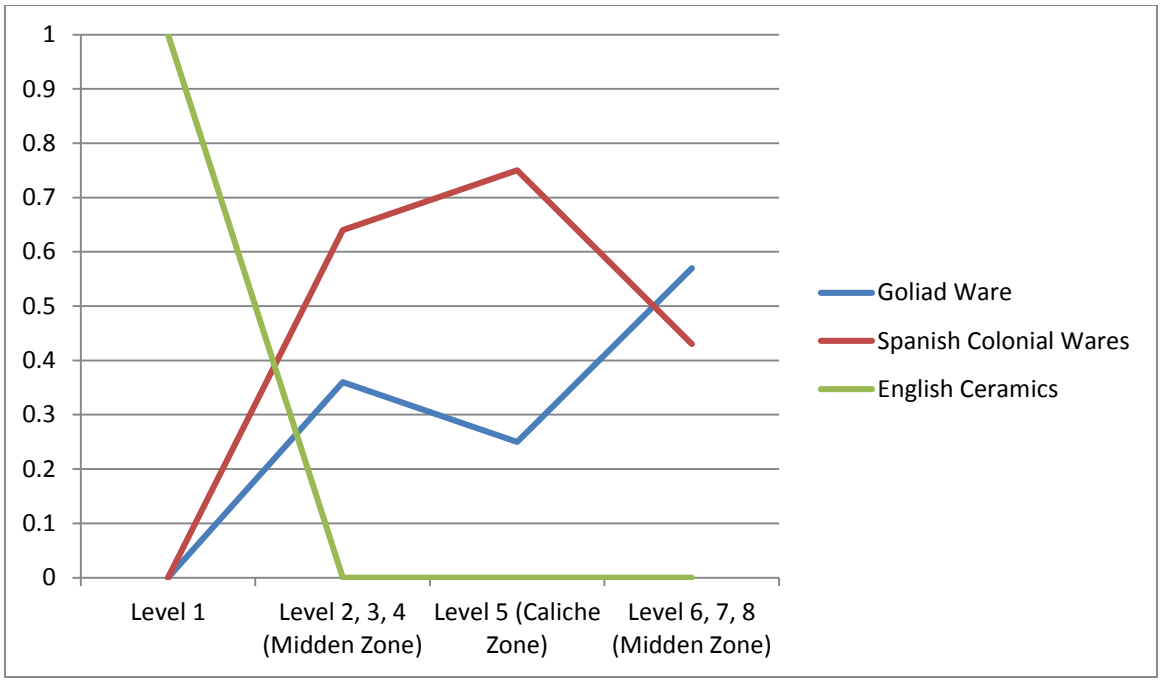

Figure 5-14: Unit B-E Distribution of Ceramic Types by Proportion.

More interesting, the proportional composition of the ceramic assemblage in the lower Unit B-E midden zone (Level 6, 7, and 8) is significantly different than the rest of the unit and anything in Area A with 57 percent Goliad Ware (n=235) and 43 percent Spanish Colonial Wares (n=175). Similarly, the distribution of artifacts in the lower midden zone of Unit B-E is substantially greater than any other zone in Unit B-E and in Area A, and likely represents a single dumping or filling episode associated with the backfilling of the wall's footing trench contemporaneous with the wall's construction. According to Figure 5-14, Figure 5-15 and Table 5-7, the lower midden deposits are not likely the result of gradual accumulation, but are relatively dense deposits of fill material. Level 8 not only contained the highest total of materials, but the relative density of artifacts (n=2656 per m^3) found in the level was almost five times the overall density of the midden (n=558.794 per m^3). Similarly, Level 7 displayed a relative density of faunal material (n=1860 per m^3) over twice the overall density of faunal materials found in the midden deposit (n=731.65 per m^3).

The lower midden zone designated as Level 6 (95-115 cmbd) displays relative lower densities of materials than Levels 7 and 8 and these are very similar to the densities recorded in Levels 3 and 4 in the upper midden deposit and may represent gradual refuse accumulation. As such, the relative densities of materials observed in Levels 7 and 8 suggest a different disposal pattern than the levels above, and as suggested, are most likely evidence of a single filling event associated with the construction of the wall.

Table 5-7: Relative Densities of Faunal Materials and Artifacts Found in Unit B-E.

Level	Depth	Unit Dimensions (m)	Area (m^3)	Faunal Totals	Density of Faunal Materials (per m^3)	Artifact Totals	Density of Artifacts (per m^3)
2	38-58	1 x 1	.20	1	5	4	20
3	58-70	1 x 1	.12 m^3	107	891.6666667	60	500
4	70-85	1 x 1	.15 m^3	148	986.6666667	36	240
5	85-95	1 x 1	.10 m^3	1	10	9	90
6	95-115	1 x 1	.20 m^3	192	960	67	335
7	115-135	1 x 0.5	.1 m^3	186	1860	48	480
8	135-160	1 x 0.5	.125 m^3	93	744	332	2656
Total	38-160		0.995 m^3	728	731.6582915	556	558.794

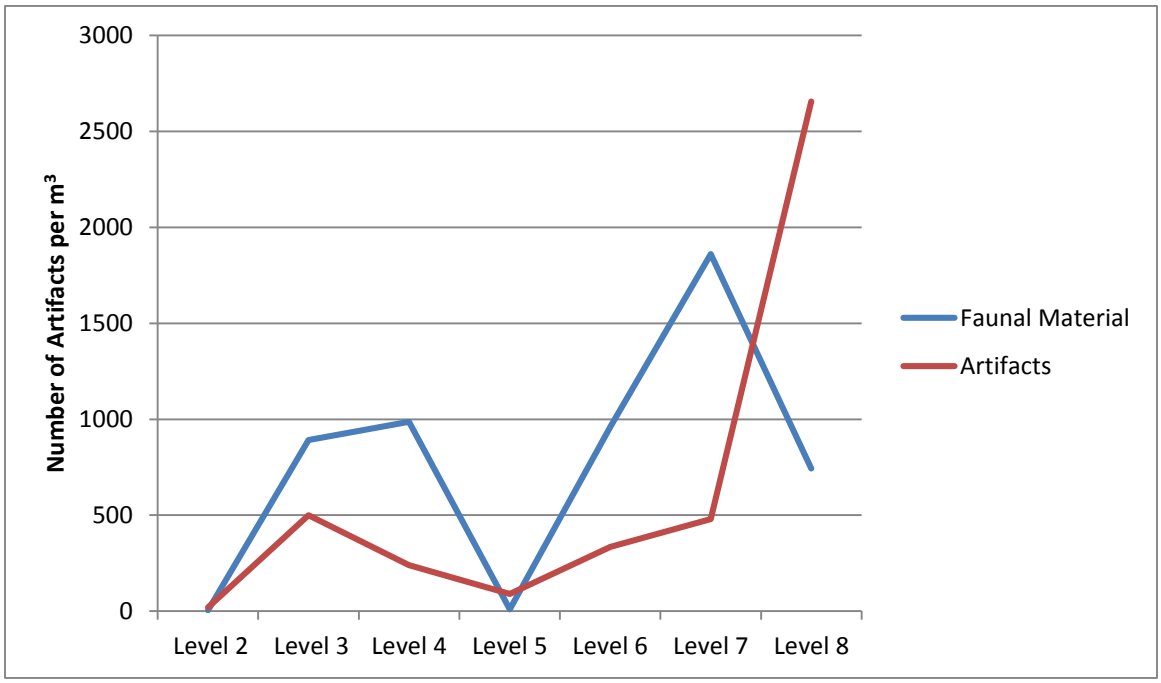

Figure 5-15: Relative Densities of Unit B-E Midden Deposit.

Although locally manufactured, Goliad Ware (n=211) and Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware (n=116) combine to make up 91.1 percent of ceramics recovered from Levels 7 and 8, archaeologists also recovered sherds of temporally diagnostic majolica from theses contexts including Puebla Blue-on-White (n=11), Puebla Polychrome (n=1), and Huejotzingo Blue-on-White (n=1). Although it is also found in later contexts, Ivey and Fox (1997) suggest that in San Antonio, Puebla Blue-on-white was common during a period between the 1720s and the 1760s while Puebla Polychrome has a production range between 1650 and 1725 and Huejotzingo Blue-on-white was produced between 1700 and 1780 (Fox and Ulrich 2008: 72; Ivey and Fox 1997: 42).

The Mean Ceramic Date (MCD = $\Sigma(x_i f_i)/\Sigma f_i$ where x_i = median date of type I, f_i = number of sherds of type i, Σf_i=total number of sherds; South 1972; 1978) of the Level 7 and 8 ceramic assemblage (n=357) is 1767.95 (Table 5-8). However, as suggested, the majority of the Level 7 and 8 assemblage (n=344) is constituted by ceramic types with long production periods that span the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and if only the temporally diagnostic decorated majolica sherds (n=13) discussed above are taken into account, then the MCD equals 1736.

Table 5-8: Unit B-E Mean Ceramic Date (MCD) According to Context.

Type	Date Range	Median	Levels 7 and 8	Level 6	Level 5	Levels 3 and 4
Coarse Earthenware, Indeterminate	1720-1820	1770	116	13	3	22
Goliad Ware	1720-1820	1770	211	24	2	30
Lead-Glazed Ware, Red Brown	1700-1800	1750	3	4	N/A	6
Lead-Glazed Ware, Yellow and Green Glaze	1700-1800	1750	9	1	1	6
Majolica, Castillo Polychrome	1700-1725	1712.5	N/A	N/A	N/A	1
Majolica, Huejotzingo Blue-on-white	1700-1780	1800	1	N/A	N/A	2
Majolica, Puebla Blue-on-white	1650-1830	1740	11	7	2	8
Majolica, Puebla Polychrome	1650-1725	1687.5	1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Majolica, San Agustín	1700-1780	1740	N/A	N/A	N/A	1
Majolica, Undecorated	1720-1850	1785	3	1	N/A	N/A
Red Burnished Ware	1725-1800	1762.5	N/A	3	N/A	3
Tonalá Burnished Ware	1720–1810	1765	1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Storage Jar, Middle Style	1580-1780	1680	1	1	N/A	N/A
Total			**357**	**54**	**6**	**79**
Mean Ceramic Date (Total Product/Total Count) =			**1767.95**	**1762.5**	**1760**	**1761.8**

Numerous researchers have criticized Stanley South's MCD Formula for various reasons, but most commonly because the formula does not account for the time lag between the time of manufacture and the date of deposition (Adams 2003:41). Adams, among others, provides evidence for an average time lag between 15 and 25 years for ceramic assemblages from eighteenth and early nineteenth-century sites, including rural and frontier contexts with time lags lasting over 30 years (Adams 2003:53–54; 59). Time lags are not the only reason why MCD is problematic, and in a context like eighteenth century San Antonio, where conditions relating to supply are not fully understood, the MCD has to be viewed with flexibility. Using the temporally diagnostic decorated majolica MCD (1736) and accounting for time lag (+15 to 30 years), then the adjusted MCD for Levels 7 and 8 is between 1751 and 1766. As such, the construction of the wall may date to a period in the second half of the eighteenth century and likely predates José Miguel Hernández and Maria Luisa Guerrero's occupation of the tract. Level 6 has a MCD for the zone's overall assemblage equal to 1762.5, which actually predates the Level 7 and 8 overall assemblage's MCD and a MCD of 1740 for the temporally diagnostic ceramics (n=7) found within the zone, which is four years later

than the same date for Level 7 and 8. These data reflect some of the problems with using Stanley South's MCD equation with assemblages with broad production date ranges, but also suggest that the formation of Level 6 as a refuse midden likely occurred shortly after the deposition of Levels 7 and 8 and the construction of the wall and possibly during the José Miguel Hernández and Maria Luisa Guerrero's occupation of the tract.

Interestingly, the relatively sterile Level 5 (85-95 cmbd), which generally corresponds to the caliche and limestone zone mentioned above, separates Level 6 from Levels 3 (58-70) and 4 (70-85) and may represent a break between two periods of occupation. It is also possible that Level 5 represents another stage in the construction of the wall and the deposit may be the evidence of another filling episode. While the exact nature of Level 5 is uncertain, it does appear that Levels 3 and 4 represent an intact midden deposit. The assemblages recovered from these levels contained similar types of artifacts to those that were found in the lower zones and include high numbers of faunal materials (n=253), ceramics produced in Mexico (n=48), locally-made Goliad Ware (n=30), lithics (n=15), as well as three glass fragments and no metal artifacts. Like the levels below, the Mexican-made types found in Levels 3 and 4 are dominated by unglazed utilitarian types (n=18; 37.5 percent), and although relatively few sherds of Goliad Ware (n=6) were recovered from Level 4, these types still account for 38.5 percent of the ceramics recovered from the two levels. Temporally diagnostic ceramics recovered from Levels 3 and 4 include a single sherd of San Augustín Blue-on-white and a sherd of Castillo Polychrome recovered from Level 3, two sherds of Huejotzingo Blue-on-white recovered from Level 4, and eight sherds of Puebla Blue-on-white. Similar to the zones below, the MCD for the total assemblages from Levels 3 and 4 equals 1761.8 which again, predates Levels 6, 7, and 8 and the MCD for the temporally diagnostic decorated majolica (n=12) found within Levels 3 and 4 is 1737.7, which is only one year after the same date for Levels 7 and 8.

As suggested to above, the MCDs for these midden zones highlight some of the deficiencies of South's methodology, and in this case with a small assemblage and with limited ceramic types with wide production ranges that methodology is not ideal. However, the MCD data does indicate that the midden is clearly evidence of eighteenth century refuse deposits and, according to the relative density data, may represent a single filling episode associated with the construction of the adjacent wall (Level 7 and 8), a zone of gradual accumulation (Level 6), another filling episode of sterile materials (Level 5) and another separate zone of gradual refuse accumulation (Levels 3 and 4).

Because the top zones of the feature are likely disturbed, it is unclear when the midden deposit went out of use, but the archival evidence indicates that José Miguel Hernández and Maria Luisa Guerrero lived in a *chamacuero* on the property in the vicinity of the Area A and Unit B-E features between about 1764 until Maria died in 1819. It then seems reasonable to suggest that to some extent, the midden deposits may be associated with their early occupation of the tract. Due to the small sample size and the high proportion of Yellow and Green Glaze lead-glaze ware (n=7) in the assemblage the MCD of Floor 1 is 1761.2 (**Table** 5-9). The presence of English ceramics (n=2) including a sherd of hand painted polychrome pearlware with a production date range from 1775 to 1840 and a median production date of 1807 for the Floor 1 assemblage indicates that the feature may date to Maria Luisa Guerrero's occupation of the tract in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Table 5-9: Unit A Mean Ceramic Date (MCD) According to Context

Type	Date Range	Median	Below Floor 2 (Level 5)	Floor 2 (Level 4)	Below Floor 1 (Level 3)	Floor 1 (Level 2)
Coarse Earthenware, Indeterminate	1720-1820	1770	2	1	3	1
Goliad Ware	1720-1820	1770	2	1	5	N/A
Lead-Glazed Ware, Red Brown	1700-1800	1750	N/A	N/A	1	N/A
Lead-Glazed Ware, Yellow and Green Glaze	1700-1800	1750	1	N/A	2	7
Majolica, Puebla Blue-on-white	1650-1830	1740	2	N/A	1	N/A
Majolica, Puebla Polychrome	1650-1725	1687.5	2	1	N/A	N/A
Majolica, Undecorated	1720-1850	1785	5	N/A	N/A	N/A
Pearlware, Hand Painted	1775-1840	1807.5	N/A	N/A	N/A	1
Porcelain	1720-1850	1785	N/A	N/A	N/A	1
Tonalá Burnished Ware	1720-1810	1765	1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Total			**15**	**3**	**12**	**10**
Mean Ceramic Date (Total Product/Total Count) =			**1758.3**	**1742.5**	**1762.5**	**1761.2**

The zone (Level 3) between Floor 1 and Floor 2 in Unit A has a MCD of 1762.5 which generally corresponds with the same zone overlaying Floor 2 located in Unit A-W, Level 3 which has a MCD of 1765.4. Although the Unit A-W ceramic sample (n=69) from this zone was much larger, the overlaying levels were disturbed and CAR archaeologists did not excavate below the Unit A-W Floor 2 which makes it difficult to make any further comparisons between the two contexts.

The Unit A, Floor 2 sample (n=3) is extremely small, but has a MCD of 1742.5. When adjusted for time lag (+15 to 30 years) the MCD has a range between 1757.5 and 1772.5 indicating that Floor 2 may also be associated with José Miguel Hernández and Maria Luisa Guerrero's occupation of the tract. As stated above, CAR archaeologists recognized Floor 1 as a caliche floor over a thin layer of charcoal that sat above 10 cm (Level 3, 47-57 cmbd) of grey soil that in turn sat above another caliche floor (Floor 2). Evidence of a burning episode and 10 cm of deposition below Floor 1 suggests that the tract may

have been abandoned for a period after the occupation represented by Floor 2. CAR archaeologists recovered a single sherd of Puebla Polychrome from Floor 2, which has a date range of 1650 to 1725 and a median production range of 1687.5. Despite the MCD, this would indicate the possibility that Floor 2 and the deposit just below Floor 2 may be evidence of an earlier occupation of the tract.

Although it is difficult to determine exactly when the Floor 2 occupation was established or abandoned, the possibility that it predates José Miguel Hernández and Maria Luisa Guerrero's occupation suggests that the three features encountered in Area A and Unit B-E are evidence of eighteenth century domestic occupation in the presidio. While it is impossible to determine if the early deposits are associated with the Luis Antonio Menchaca' s lineage or other unknown residents at the presidio, the collections reveal important trends of eighteenth century domestic occupation. Specifically, these trends appear to be high volumes of faunal materials with an emphasis on domesticated cattle and riverine resources from nearby rivers as well as utilitarian wares including wheel-made Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware and locally produced Goliad Ware. Concomitantly, there appears to be very little evidence of wild game, and although there is ample evidence of ceramics imported from Mexico, there appears to be very little variety and what appear to have been available were primarily utilitarian wares. Beyond faunal materials and ceramics there are very few other materials recovered from the eighteenth century contexts. The remaining items are limited to a few pieces of glass, a fragment of a buckle, two ferrous chain links, a metal spike, and a handful of building materials. The exception of course is the relatively high volume of lithic debitage found throughout the deposits. In general, the collection as a whole indicates that the material world in the eighteenth century was relatively sparse, but more important, local resources and technologies were integral to daily life.

1996 CAR Excavations

CAR archaeologists conducted further excavations at the Spanish Governor's Palace in 1996 prior to a city project to repair the roof and exterior walls of the existing structure (Fox 1997). The research goal of the 1996 excavations was to "examine the foundations of the front wall of the Governor's Palace," and CAR archaeologists excavated three units (Units A, B, and C) along the east wall of the building that fronts onto the Military Plaza (Figure 5-16; ibid.: 1; 10). Excavation of the three units recovered eighteenth century deposits and evidence that the existing structure was "constructed on a site which had been previously occupied" (ibid.: 16). While it is not certain, the archival evidence above suggests that the property where the Spanish Governor's Palace is located may have historically been in Luis Antonio Menchaca's family dating back to the initial settlement. If so, then the evidence below in part may speak to the earliest domestic occupation of the presidio.

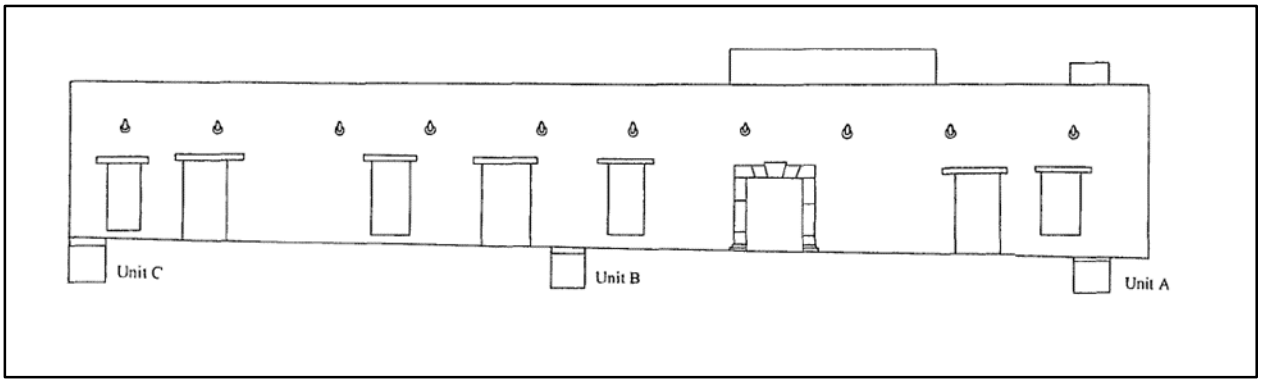

Figure 5-16: 41BX179 1996 Investigation test unit locations along façade of Spanish Governor's Palace (Fox 1977: 10).

Unit A

Unit A measured 3 x 3 ft[14] and was located at the north east corner of the existing Governor's Palace. CAR archaeologists excavated Unit A, and the two subsequent units in six-inch levels beginning below the existing sidewalk and base material (Figure 5-17). Level 1 (7-13 inches below surface [inbs]) was composed of a light gray (10YR 6/2) friable soil that contained nineteenth and twentieth century

[14] CAR utilized feet and inches for the 1996 excavations at the Spanish Governor's Palace.

materials. The top three inches of Level 2 (13-19 inbs) were similar to the preceding level, but at 16 inbs CAR archaeologists encountered a deposit that was also composed of a light gray (10YR 6/2) loam, but also contained charcoal and nineteenth century artifacts including animal bone (47.3 grams [g]), English ceramics (n=14), Spanish Colonial ceramics (n=3), bottle glass (n=15), and other items (Table 5-10). At 18.5 inbs CAR archaeologists encountered the top of the limestone foundation, which extended approximately three inches from the front of the wall. Excavation of Level 3 (19-25 inbs) exposed a very dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2) deposit at 21.5 inbs that contained late eighteenth and early nineteenth century artifacts including animal bone (n=105 g) decorated (n=12) and undecorated (n=1) refined earthenware, Spanish Colonial wares (n=4), a bone tempered ceramic sherd, and numerous glass bottle fragments (n=115) among other items. The foundation protruded into Level 4, leaving only a small trench approximately eight inches wide, where CAR archaeologists recovered only three chert flakes. CAR archaeologists encountered the bottom of the foundation at 42 inbs.

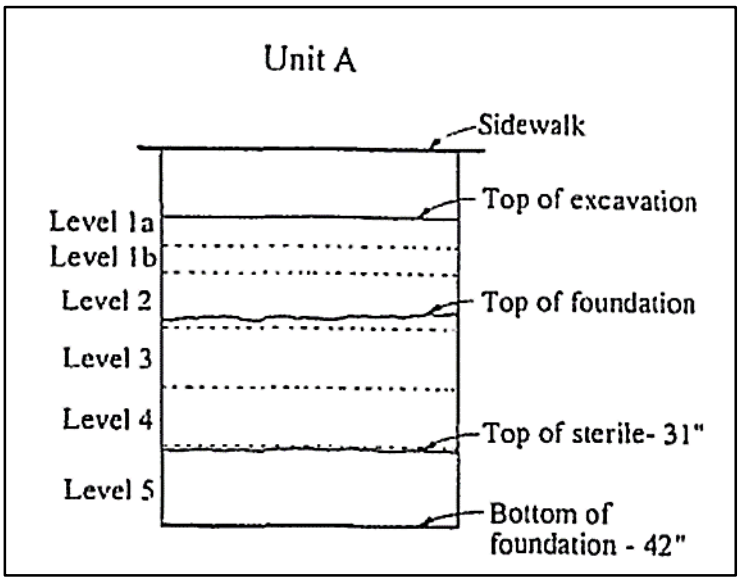

Figure 5-17: Unit A west wall profile.

Table 5-10 provides a summary of the Unit A collection and reveals that Unit A had high proportions of animal bone (n=153.8 g), glass artifacts (n=178; 57.05 percent of nonbone artifacts) and

metal artifacts (n=75; 24 percent of nonbone artifacts). English Ceramics (n=29) comprise 72.5 percent of the Unit A ceramic assemblage, while Mexican made ceramics (n=10) and bone tempered ceramics (n=1) make up made up 25 percent and 2.5 percent respectively.

Table 5-10: Counts of Artifacts Recovered from Unit A.

Level	Depth (inbs)	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial	English Ceramics	Metal	Glass	Lithics	Building Materials	Ceramic Other	Shell	Total	Animal Bone (g)
1	7-13	0	0	0	15	3	0	0	0	0	18	1.2
2	13-19	0	3	14	34	30	3	1	1	1	88	47.3
3	19-25	1	7	15	25	145	11	0	0	1	206	105
4	25-42	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	0.3
Total	7-42	1	10	29	745	178	17	1	1	2	315	153.8

Figure 5-18 displays the distribution of artifacts recovered from Unit A and indicates that Level 3 (19-25 inbs) contained the most artifacts with a total of 206 artifacts and 105 g of animal bone and a relative density of 1617 artifacts and 824.18 g of animal bone per m^3. The high relative density of artifacts observed in Level 3 is largely a result of the high volume of green bottle glass (n=115), many of which are likely from the same vessel. The overall density of Unit A is 681.19 artifacts and 332.59 g of animal bone per m^3.

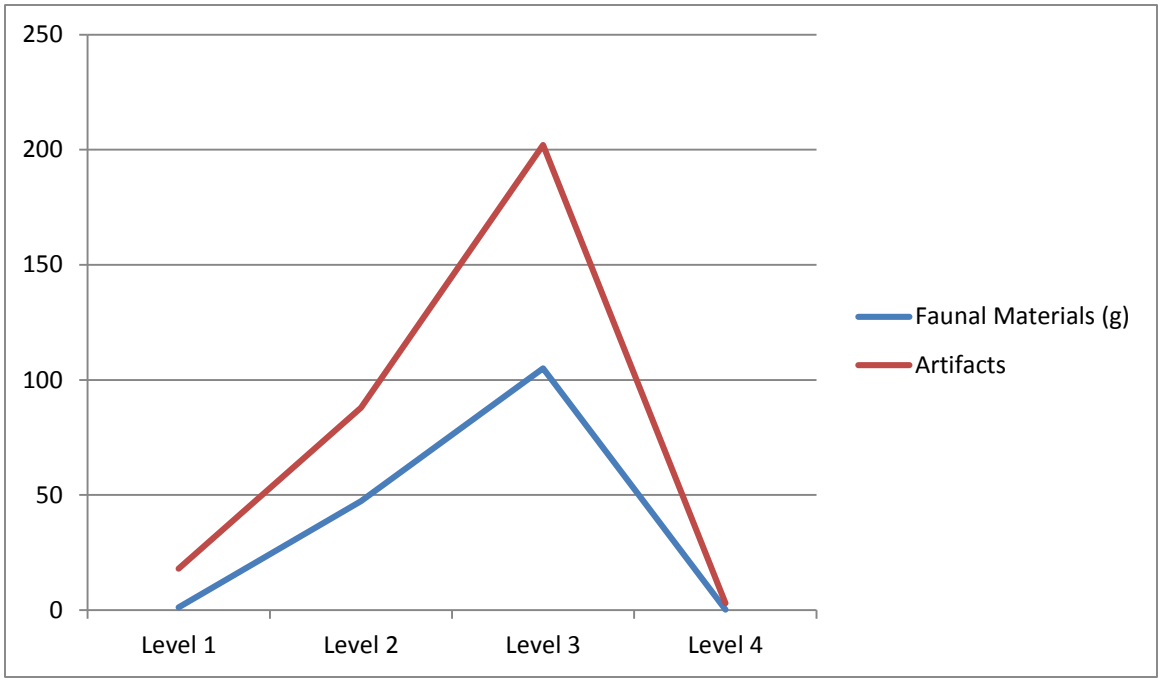

Figure 5-18: Distribution of Artifacts Recovered from Unit A.

Unit B

Unit B also measured 3 x 3 ft and was located near the center of the front façade of the building. CAR archaeologists also excavated Unit B in six-inch levels beginning just below the modern sidewalk (Figure 5-19). Level 1 (7-13 inbs) was primarily composed of a dark grayish brown sandy clay (10YR 3/2) and contained construction debris and some faunal materials (Table 5-11). Level 2 (13-19 inbs) was also composed of the same dark grayish brown sandy clay (10YR 3/2), but contained early nineteenth century artifacts including lead-glaze wares (n=4), a majolica sherd, and undecorated pearlware (n=3) among other items. Towards the bottom of Level 2 (19 inbs), CAR archaeologists encountered "a layer of small stones which resembled a living surface" that sat directly above the top of the limestone foundation (Fox 1997: 11). The soil in Level 3 (19-25 inbs) remained consistent with the overlaying levels, although it contained numerous river cobbles and the highest concentration of artifacts in the unit including animal bone (350.5 g), bone tempered ceramics (n=32), coarse earthenware (n=31),

burnished coarse earthenware (n=3), lead-glaze wares (n=4) majolica (n=6), banded annularware (n=3) and a sherd of hand-painted pearlware. Level 4 (25-31 inbs) was composed of the same soils as the overlaying levels, however the foundation stone occupied the eastern half of the unit. The zone also contained artifacts similar to Level 3, although in reduced quantities and no evidence of English Wares. This trend continued in Level 5 (31-37 inbs) as the soil and artifact types remained the same as Level 4, but the number of artifacts continued to decline. Level 6 (37-44 inbs) was a slightly lighter soil (10YR 4/2) that was culturally sterile, except the foundation bottom was encountered at 43.5 inbs.

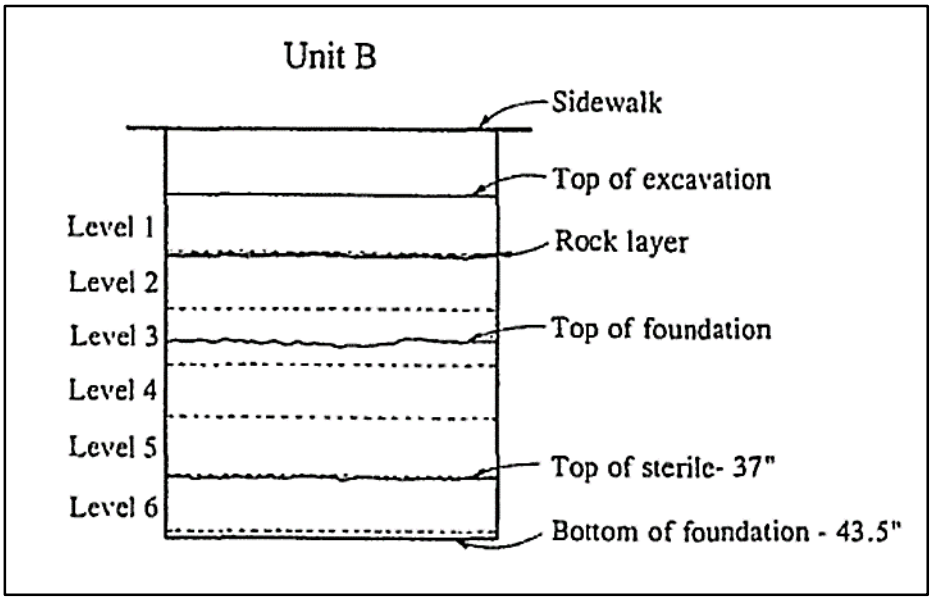

Figure 5-19: Unit B west wall profile.

Table 5-11 presents the Unit B collection and reveals that animal bone (n=862.6 g), and ceramics (n=127) and building materials (n=51) were the most frequent artifact types recovered from the unit. Unlike Unit A, the Unit B ceramic assemblage is primarily composed of Spanish Colonial ceramics from Mexico (n=83; 65.4 percent of ceramic assemblage) and locally produced bone tempered ceramics (n=33; 26 percent), while English ceramics (n=11) make up only 8.6 percent of the unit's ceramics.

Table 5-11: Counts of Artifacts Recovered from Unit B											
Level	Depth (inbs)	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial Ceramics	English Ceramics	Metal	Glass	Lithics	Building Materials	Shell	Total	Animal Bone (g)
1	7-13	0	0	0	8	1	0	0	0	9	115.1
2	13-19	0	5	7	28	30	2	36	4	112	115.1
3	19-25	31	46	4	5	6	4	15	3	114	350.5
4	25-31	2	18	0	0	0	1	0	1	22	202.2
5	31-37	0	14	0	1	0	7	0	2	24	79.7
6	37-44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	7-44	33	83	11	42	37	14	51	10	281	862.6

Figure 5-20 depicts the distribution of artifacts in Unit B, and like Unit A, the highest number of artifacts (n=114) and animal bone (n=350 g) came from Level 3 (19-25 inbs), although the relative density of materials in Unit B, Level 3 was much higher than that in Unit A, Level 3 and equals approximately 947.26 artifacts and 2,912.4 g animal bone per m^3. Overall Unit B was less dense than Unit A in terms of artifacts with only 567.11 artifacts per m^3, but over five times as dense as Unit A with 1,740.9 g animal bones per m^3.

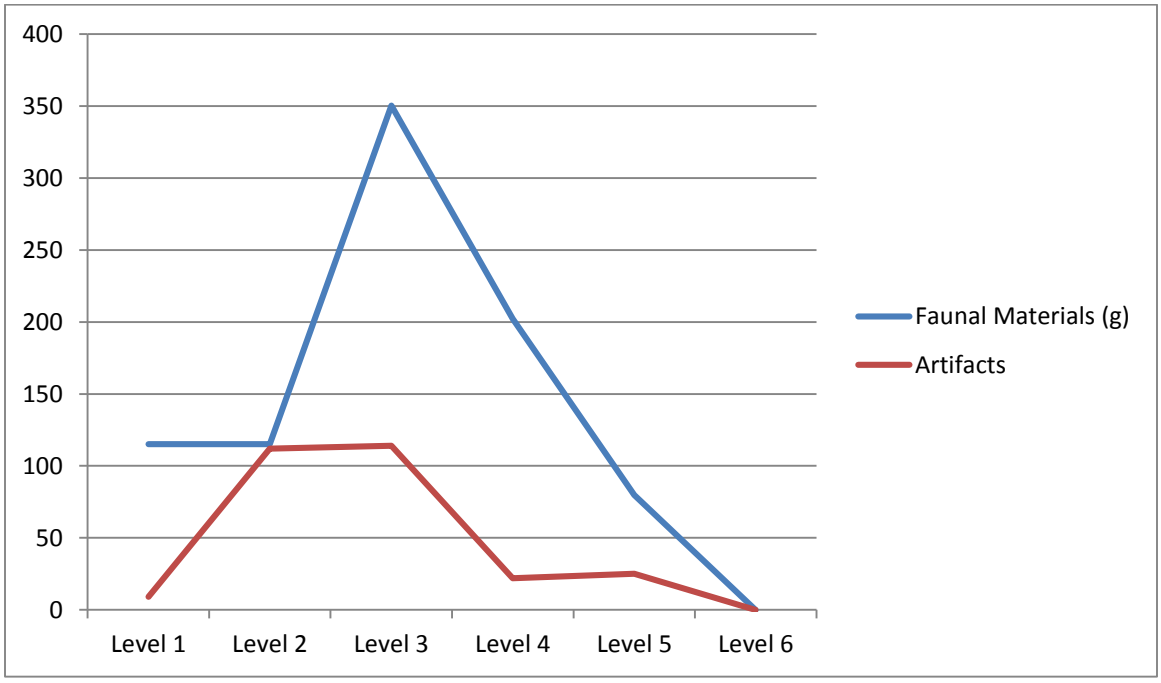

Figure 5-20: Distribution of Artifacts Recovered from Unit B.

Unit C

Unit C was slightly larger than the two other units and measured 40 x 36 inches and was located at the south end of the building, immediately north of the adjacent building (Figure 5-21). Level 1 (7-13 inbs) was composed of a light grayish brown (10YR 6/2) sandy clay and primarily contained construction debris and animal bone (n=54.6 g). Similar to Unit B, CAR archaeologists encountered a compacted surface at 18 inbs in Unit C Level 2 (13-19 inbs). Within and below this surface (18-19 inbs) CAR archaeologists recovered a high concentration of artifacts including animal bone, bone tempered ceramics, lead-glaze wares, majolica, metal scrap, window glass, and nails,[15]. The excavation of Level 3 (19-25 inbs) revealed the top of the limestone foundation at 22 inbs and CAR archaeologists recovered an assemblage that included animal bone (n=304.6), bone tempered ceramics (n=9), a variety of Spanish Colonial wares (n=7), bottle glass (n=1), a cut nail, and some chert fragments (n=7). Level 4 (25-31 inbs) was composed of a darker grayish brown (10YR 5/2) sandy clay and at 28 inbs CAR archaeologists encountered "a surface composed of small stone chips" (Fox 1997: 11). Below this surface, CAR archaeologists encountered a high density of animal bone (n=466.4 g), and eighteenth century artifacts including bone tempered ceramics (n=55), coarse earthenware (n=28), lead-glaze wares (n=8), sherds of Galera Ware (n=3), majolica (n=10), chert fragments (n=21), and a rein chain link. Like Level 4, Level 5 (31-37 inbs) also contained a high density of eighteenth century artifacts including bone tempered ceramics (n=50), coarse earthenware (n=10), lead-glaze wares (n=9), sherds of majolica (n=18), chert fragments (n=40), an olivella shell bead, and a musket ball. Unlike Level 4, CAR archaeologists recovered relatively little animal bone (n=131.7g) from Level 5. Due to the foundation protruding into Unit C, Level 6 (37-40) was only eight inches wide and only contained chert fragments (n=24).

[15] Published data and accession records only provide a total artifact count from Unit C, Level 2 and do not specify artifact counts from Level 2: 18-19 inbs.

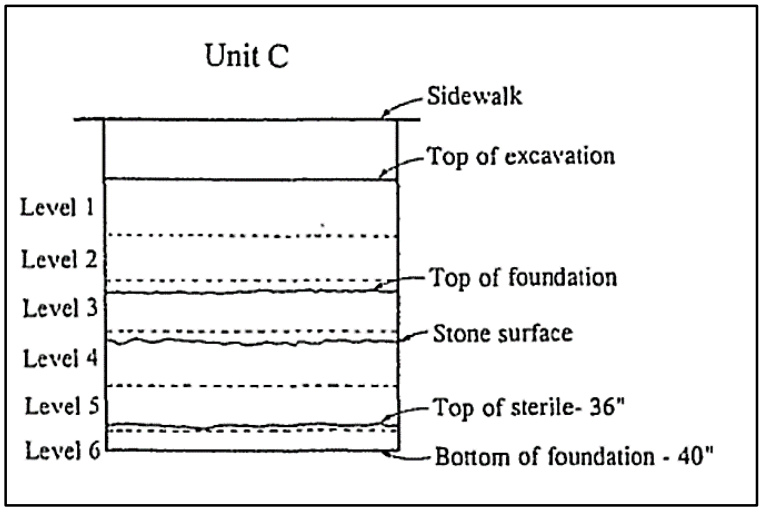

Figure 5-21: Unit C west wall profile.

Table 5-12 presents the Unit C collection and reveals that animal bone (n=1,061.9 g) and ceramics (n=223) and lithics (n=96) were the most frequent artifact types recovered from the unit. Locally produced bone tempered ceramics (n=117) make up 52.4 percent of the unit's ceramics while Spanish Colonial ceramics (n=106) make up 47.5 percent of the assemblage. Levels 4 and 5 both displayed high densities of ceramics (n=195) and lithics (n=61) and may be evidence of very early occupation of the Military Plaza.

Table 5-12: Counts of Artifacts Recovered from Unit C

Unit Level	Depth (inbs)	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial Ceramics	Metal	Glass	Lithics	Building Materials	Shell	Total	Animal Bone (g)
1	7-13	0	0	13	4	0	0	0	17	54.6
2	13-19	3	9	40	22	4	3	3	84	104.6
3	19-25	9	7	1	1	7	0	4	29	304.6
4	25-31	55	49	0	0	21	9	1	135	466.4
5	31-37	50	41	1	5	40	0	15	152	131.7
6	37-40	0	0	0	0	24	0	0	24	0
Total	7-40	117	106	55	32	96	12	23	441	1061.9

Figure 5-22 depicts the distribution of artifacts in Unit C and as mentioned above, Level 4 and Level 5 displayed high densities of materials with 946.33 artifacts and 3,293.8 g of animal bone per m^3 in

Level 4 and 1,045.2 artifacts and 930 g animal bone per m^3 in Level 5. Level 3 also displayed a high density of animal bones with 2.151.1 g per m^3 although the density of artifacts in the zone was much lower than Levels 4 and 5 with only 190.68 artifacts per m^3. The overall density of the Unit C was 557.2 artifacts and 1,436.1 g of animal bone per m^3.

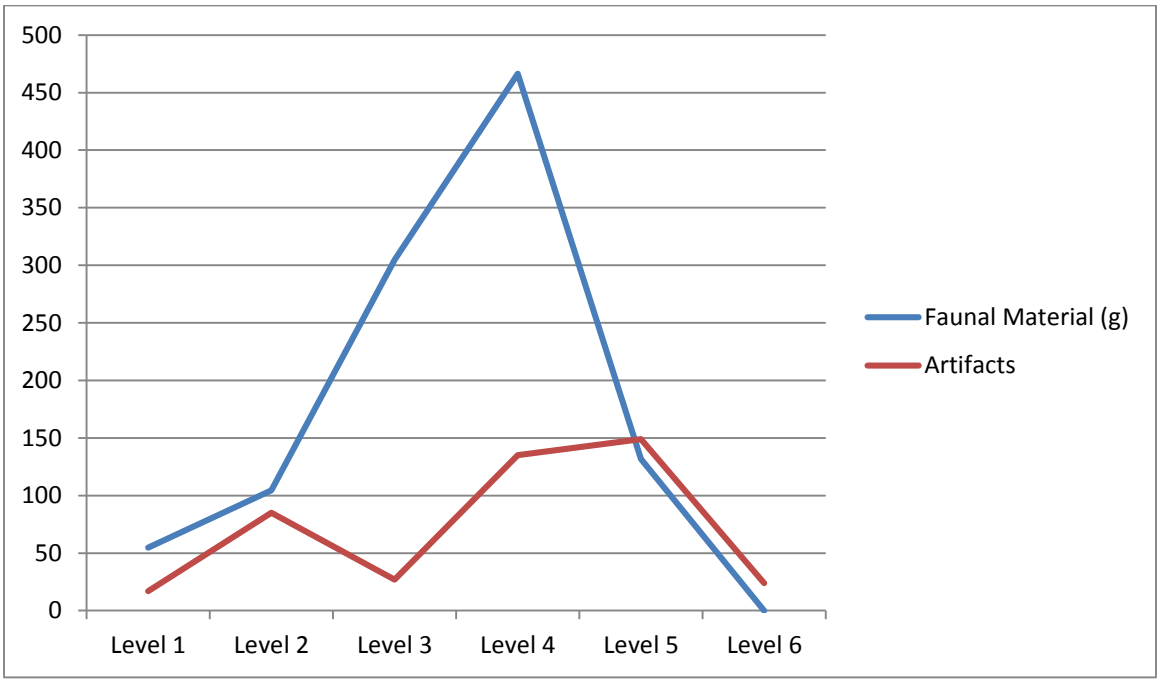

Figure 5-22: Distribution of Artifacts Recovered from Unit C.

Artifacts

From the three units discussed above (Unit A, Unit B, and Unit C) CAR archaeologists recovered a total of 2,989 items. Faunal materials (n=1,952) comprise 66.5 percent of the total collection, 98.2 percent of which are animal bone (n=1,852) and the remaining 1.7 percent are shell (n=35). The remaining 33.5 percent of the collection is comprised of nonfaunal artifacts that are discussed below according to functional categories that reflect behavior including Kitchen, Architectural, Activity, Personal, Armament, and Indeterminate.

Kitchen

Kitchen artifacts are items that are associated with domestic activities such as food preparation and consumption. Functionally categorized kitchen artifacts (n=539) compose 18 percent of the total collection and 53.8 percent of all nonfaunal artifacts recovered. Included in this count is the majority of the ceramic assemblage (n=390), which accounts for 13 percent of the total collection and 38.9 percent of the nonfaunal artifacts. The remainder of the artifacts categorized as kitchen artifacts are fragments of bottle glass (n=149).

Ceramics

The ceramic assemblage consists of 390 sherds of which 51 percent are Spanish Colonial Wares from Mexico (n=199), 38.7 percent are locally produced bone tempered Goliad Ware (n=151), and 10.3 percent are ceramics imported from England (n=40). Table 5-13 provides a list of the 29 distinct ceramic types observed in the collection, along with the types' place of origin, production date ranges, median production date, and a sherd count for each type.

Table 5-13: 41BX179 1996 Investigation Ceramic Types.

Type	Origin	Date Range	Median	Count
Annular Ware, (Pearlware) Banded	English	1785-1840	1812.5	4
Creamware, Plain with Scalloped edge	English	1762-1820	1791	1
Edgeware, Scalloped Rim, Impressed Curved lines	English	1802-1832	1817	3
Lustreware	English	1790-1840	1815	1
Pearlware, Hand Painted Polychrome	English	1775-1840	1807.5	4
Pearlware, Transfer Printed, Blue	English	1784-1840	1812	5
Pearlware, Undecorated	English	1780-1840	1810	8
Porcelain, Undecorated	English	1720-1850	1785	4
Whiteware, Sponged	English	1830-1860	1845	2
Whiteware, Transfer Printed Flow Blue	English	1840-1860	1850	1
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Green	English	1829-1850	1840	2
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Purple	English	1829-1860	1845	1
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Red	English	1829-1850	1840	1
Whiteware, Undecorated Ironstone	English	1830-1900	1865	3
Goliad Ware	Native	1720-1820	1770	151
Coarse Earthenware, Indeterminate	Spanish Colonial	1720-1820	1770	86

Table 5-13: 41BX179 1996 Investigation Ceramic Types Continued.

Type	Origin	Date Range	Median	Count
Lead-Glazed Ware, Indeterminate Hand-painted	Spanish Colonial	1700-1800	1750	1
Lead-Glazed Ware, Red Brown	Spanish Colonial	1700-1800	1750	4
Lead-Glazed Ware, Smooth Brown	Spanish Colonial	1700-1800	1750	3
Lead-Glazed Ware, Yellow and Green Glaze II	Spanish Colonial	1700-1800	1750	29
Lead-Glazed Ware, Galera	Spanish Colonial	1725-1850	1787.5	7
Majolica, Indeterminate	Spanish Colonial	1650-1830	1740	30
Majolica PubelaPuebla Blue-on-white I	Spanish Colonial	1650-1830	1740	5
Majolica, Puebla Polychrome	Spanish Colonial	1650-1725	1687.5	1
Majolica, San Elizario	Spanish Colonial	1750-1850	1700	1
Majolica, Undecorated	Spanish Colonial	1720-1850	1785	13
Red Burnished Ware	Spanish Colonial	1725-1800	1762.5	6
Storage Jar, Middle Style	Spanish Colonial	1580-1780	1680	2
Tonalá Burnished Ware	Spanish Colonial	1720–1810	1765	3
Valero Red Painted	Spanish Colonial	1700-1825	1762.5	8
Total				**390**

Like the 1976 collection, the 1996 collection is primarily composed of Spanish Colonial ceramics (n=199) and Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware (n=86) is the most common type in the assemblage, comprising 43.2 percent of all Spanish Colonial wares. Interestingly, and in reference to the discussion above, in the published report, Fox (1997) refers to these specimens as Valero Ware, "a wheel turned buff colored ware [that] was present in San Antonio from ca. 1730 to 1760" (Fox 1997: 13). In this case it seems that Fox adopted a broader definition for the 1997 report than her more formal description in *A Guide to Ceramics from Spanish Colonial Sites in Texas* (2008). However, like the 1976 collection, the Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware assemblage displays substantial variation in paste type and color and as a result I refer to these samples as Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware (Figure 5-23a). Conversely, unlike the 1976 collection, the 1996 ceramic assemblage includes eight sherds that do fit Fox and Ulrich's (2008) definition for Valero Red Painted ware and display a reddish-tan paste with red-brown painted designs (Figure 5-23b).

Unit B (n=53) contained the most Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware sherds, all of which were recovered from Level 3 (n=32), Level 4 (n=14) and Level 5 (n=7), and a single Valero Red Painted sherd

found in Level 4. Similarly, CAR archaeologists recovered a high proportion of Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware (n=41) and seven sherds of Valero Red Painted ware from Unit C, the majority of which were found in Level 4 (n=28; n=4) and Level 5 (n=10; n=3). No Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware or Valero Red Painted sherds were recovered from Unit A.

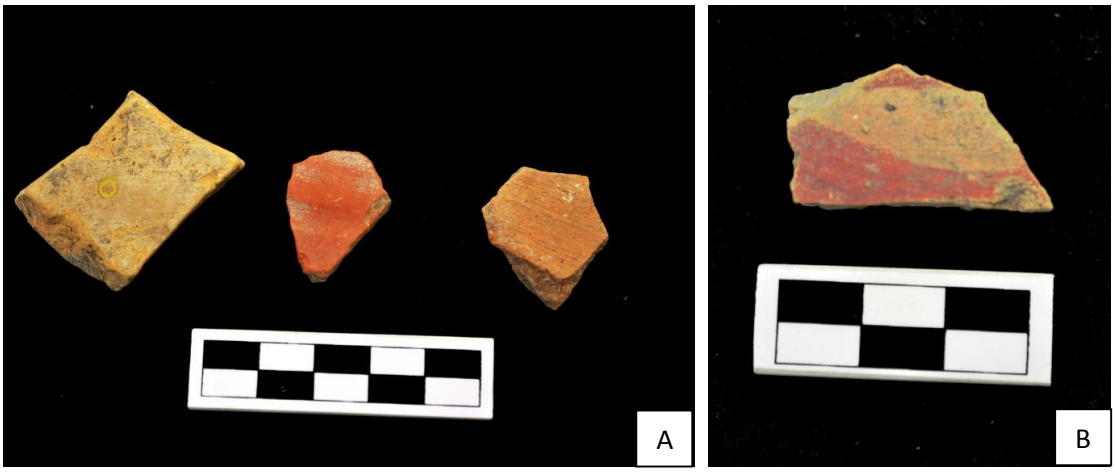

Figure 5-23 (a) Variation in Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware recovered from Unit B; (b) Valero Red Painted recovered from Unit C.

Majolica (n=50) represents the second most common type of Spanish Colonial ceramics in the collection and comprises 12.8 percent of the ceramic assemblage. CAR archaeologists recovered the majority of the majolica samples from Unit C (n=34) and primarily from Level 4 (n=10) and Level 5 (n=18) although samples were also found in Unit A (n=4) and Unit B (n=12). Decorated sherds with indeterminate decoration (n=30) are the most frequent sherd type in the collection and are primarily unidentifiable blue- on-white sherds (n=22) although the collection also includes yellow and green-on-cream sherds (n=3; Figure 5-24a), green-on-cream sherds (n=2), black and blue-on-white sherds (n=2) and a rim sherd with a thin black line (n=1). Identified decorated sherds include Puebla Blue-on-White I (n=5), San Elizario (n=1) and a sherd of Puebla Polychrome (n=1; Figure 5-24b) recovered from Unit C, Level 5. The remainder of the majolica collection is composed of undecorated sherds (n=13).

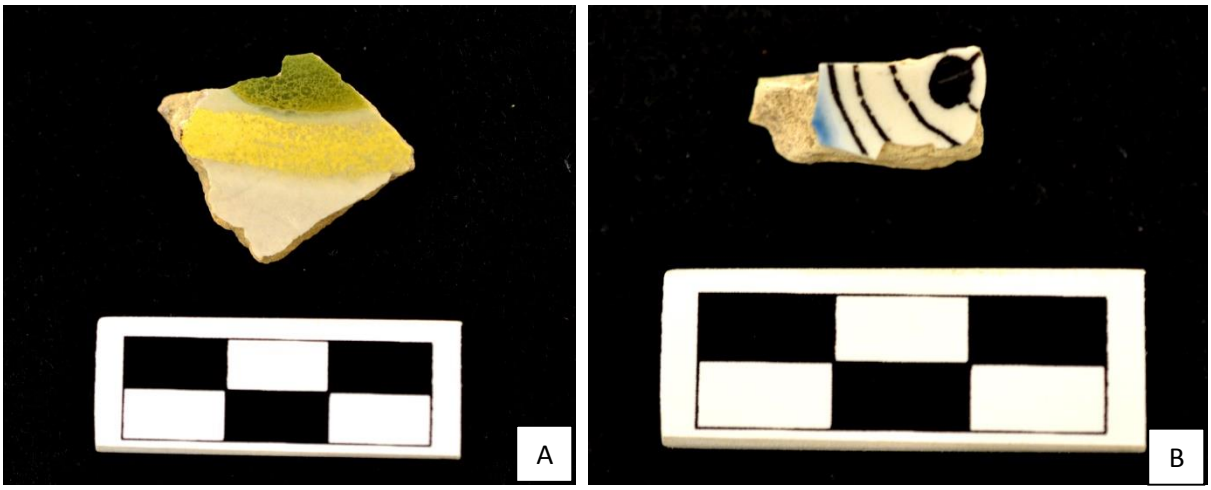

Figure 5-24 (a) Indeterminate yellow and green on cream recovered from Unit A; (b) Puebla Polychrome sherd recovered from Unit C.

Lead-glaze ceramics (n=44) comprise 11.3 percent of the total ceramic assemblage and were primarily recovered from Unit C (n=25) and Unit B (n=14). Sandy-paste Yellow and Green Glaze utility wares (n=30) were the most common types recovered, although nearly 32 percent of the lead-glaze ware ceramics are fine-paste wares including Galera (n=7), Red Brown (n=4), and Smooth Brown (n=3) all fairly evenly distributed across the units although Unit C (n=7) contained the most.

The remainder of the Spanish Colonial assemblage includes Red Burnished Ware (n=6) recovered from Unit C, Tonalá Burnished Ware (n=3) recovered from Unit B, and "Middle Style" olive jars (n=2) sherds recovered from Unit A and Unit B.

Goliad Ware (n=151) is the most frequent single ceramic type in the collection and comprises 38.7 percent of the 1996 ceramic assemblage. Like the 1976 collection, the 1996 Goliad Ware assemblage displays a substantial amount a variation in paste color. Slipped (n=11) and red painted sherds (n=2) were present in Unit B (slipped: n=1) and Unit C (slipped: n= 10; red painted: n=2; **Figure 5-25**). Most of the Goliad Ware was recovered from Unit C (n=117; 68.4 percent) and primarily from Level 4 (n=55) and Level 5 (n=50). Like the Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware sherds, the majority of Goliad Ware from Unit B (n=33) was recovered from Level 3 (n=31), although Level 4 (n=14) and Level 5

(n=7) also contained high proportions comprising 70 percent and 50 percent of all ceramics recovered from each level respectively. A single sherd of Goliad Ware was recovered from Unit A, Level 3.

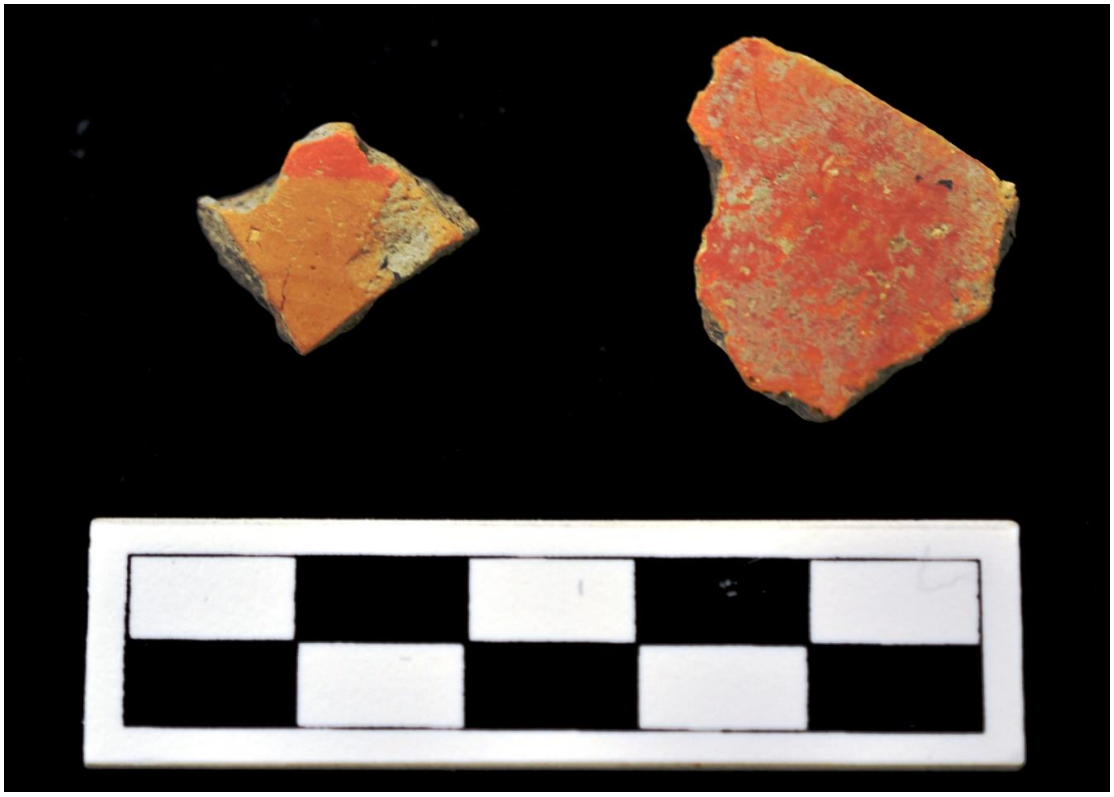

Figure 5-25: Red Painted Goliad Ware recovered from Unit C.

Ceramics from England (n=40) make up 10.3 percent of the 1996 ceramic assemblage and were only recovered from Unit A (n=29) and Unit B (n=11). The Unit A English Ware assemblage (n=29) is composed of undecorated porcelain (n=4) and various types of refined earthenware (n=25) including undecorated pearlware (n=6) and undecorated ironstone whiteware (n=3) as well as various sherds of transfer printed pearlware (n=5) and transfer printed whiteware (n=5). These sherds along with sherds of hand painted pearlware (n=3), sponged whiteware (n=2) and annularware (n=1) were recovered all from Level 2 (n=15) and Level 3 (n=14). The Unit B English Ware assemblage (n=11) was recovered from Level 2 (n=7) and Level 3 (n=4) and includes undecorated pearlware (n=2), scalloped and impressed

edgeware (n=3), banded annularware (n=3), hand painted pearlware (n=1), English Lustreware (n=1), and one sherd of plain creamware with a scalloped edge (Figure 5-26).

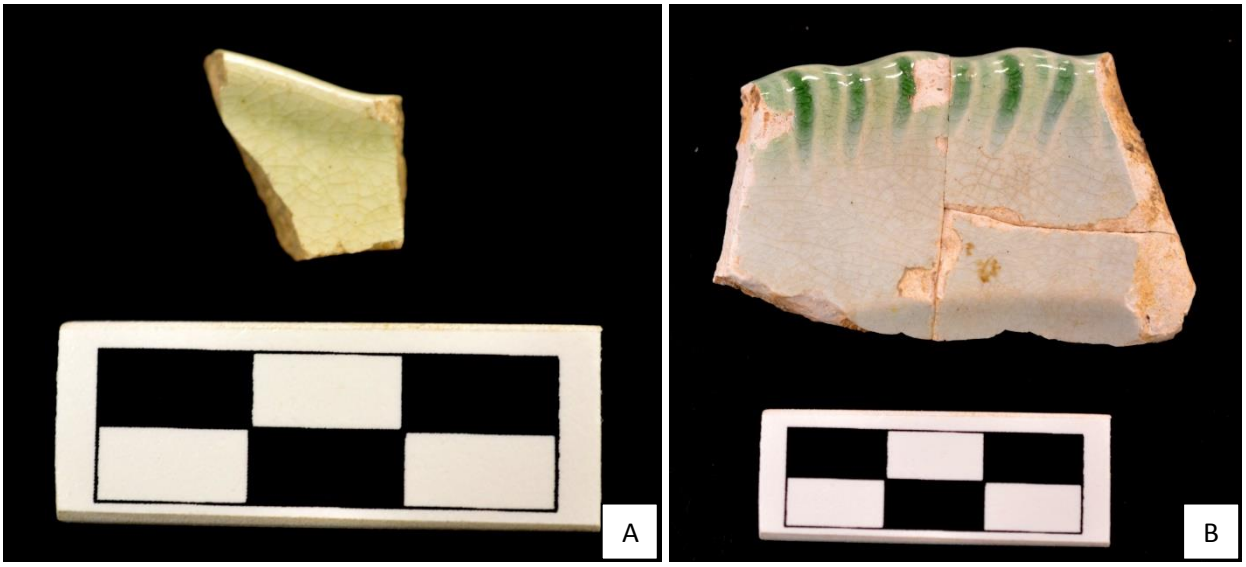

Figure 5-26: (a) Plain creamware with a scalloped edge recovered from Unit B; (b) Scalloped and impressed edgeware recovered from Unit B.

Glass

Container glass (n=179) comprises the remaining five percent of artifacts functionally classified as kitchen artifacts from the three units. CAR archaeologists primarily recovered container glass from Unit A (n=131) and chiefly from Level 3 (n=115) of that unit. Furthermore, 82.4 percent (n=108) of the sherds recovered from Unit A, Level 3 are small olive glass samples representing an indeterminate number of olive glass bottles. Only five glass bottle fragments were recovered from Level 2 (n=4) and Level 3 (n=1) of Unit B and these included green (n=2), olive (n=2), and colorless (n=1) shards. CAR archaeologists recovered the majority of glass bottle fragments in the Unit C assemblage (n=13) from Level 2 (n=11) and these include a fragment of a colorless paneled pharmaceutical bottle with an applied bead finish (Lindsey 2015).

Architectural

Artifacts functionally categorized as architectural items (n=245), comprise 8.2 percent of the total collection and 24.5 percent of the non-faunal collection. These items include window glass (n=97), various nails (n=81), brick and tile building materials (n=64), and lead fragments (n=3).

Glass

CAR archaeologists recovered 97 pieces of window glass from Unit A (n=47), Unit B (n=32), and Unit C (n=18). Window glass was primarily found in the uppermost levels of the units, although CAR archaeologists recovered 30 pieces from Unit A, Level 3.

Metal

The metal artifact assemblage classified as architectural items include wire nails (n=63), cut nails (n=17), a hand forged nail (n=1), and three lead slate fragments. CAR archaeologists primarily recovered the wire nails from the Levels 1 and 2 of Unit B (n=16) and Unit C (n=22) and Levels 1, 2 and 3 of Unit A (n=25). CAR archaeologists also recovered cut nails from Unit A (n=5), Unit B (n=6) and Unit C (n=6) and these were typically found in Levels 2 and 3 of each unit. CAR archaeologists recovered the only hand forged nail in the assemblage from Unit B, Level 3.

Building Material

The building material (n=64) assemblage is composed of brick and tile fragments primarily recovered from Unit B, Level 2 (n=36) and Level 3 (n=15).

Activity

Artifacts functionally classified in the activity group (n=130) make up the third largest functional category in the collection and comprise 4.3 percent of the overall collection and 13 percent of the non-faunal assemblage.

Lithics

Lithics (n=127) make up the majority of the artifacts assigned to the activity group and includes chert flakes (n=123), a biface recovered from Unit C, Level 4, a biface fragment recovered from Unit B Level 3, and two edge modified flakes recovered from Unit B, Level 5 and Unit C, Level 4 (Figure 5-27).

Metal

Metal artifacts comprise the remainder of the artifacts categorized in the activity group (n=3) and include a thimble recovered from Unit B, Level 3, and a car key recovered from Unit C, Level 1 and a bridle chain recovered from Unit C, Level 4.

Figure 5-27. Biface recovered from Unit C, Level 4.

Personal

Five personal items comprise the personal items assemblage. These items include a fragment of an olivella shell bead recovered from Unit C, Level 5. This is a type of bead commonly found at mission sites in San Antonio and at historic Karankawa sites on the Texas Coast (Fox 1997: 15). The remaining personal items include a ferrous clothing hook, an undecorated compound brass button, a white, four-hole ceramic button and a fragment of a brown ceramic tobacco pipe bowl all recovered from Unit A.

Armament

A fired and flattened lead musket ball of indeterminate caliber weighing 1.735 g was found in Unit C, Level 5.

Indeterminate

Indeterminate ferrous metal scraps (n=82) were recovered from all three units, but primarily from Unit A, Level 2 (n=25) and Level 3 (n=19).

Faunal Material

The largest component of the collection, making up approximately 66.5 percent of the total collection, consists of faunal materials including animal bone (n = 1,952) and mussel shell (n = 35). Barbara Meissner conducted the analysis on the 1996 collection and determined that a high percentage of the bone in the lower levels of the units was highly fragmented, and as such, she classified almost 89 percent of the total assemblage as indeterminate mammal (n=1,687), bird (n=32), fish (n=47), and reptile (n=2; Meissner 1997: 21). Although the majority of the collection is unidentifiable, Meissner did identify twenty-five different taxa to at least the family level (**Table 5-14**; adapted from Meissner 1997: 22-23). Specimens definitively identified as the remains of wild animals (n=139) comprise 63.5 of the identified faunal remains and are primarily rodents (n=83, 59.7 percent of wild animals) and riverine resources (n=49, 35.2 percent of wild animals), but also include white-tail deer (n=2), collared peccary (n=2), turkey (n=2), and cottontail rabbit (n=1). Specimens definitively identified as domesticated

animals only make up 26.9 percent of the total identified specimens and are primarily cattle (n=40, 67.8 percent of the domesticated animals) and chicken (n=11, 18.6 percent of the domesticated animals), but also include goat (n=2), pig (n=2), dog (n=2), and horse (n=1).

Table 5-14: 41BX179 1996 Excavation Faunal Assemblage.

Scientific Name	Common Name	NISP	% of NISP
Aplodinotus grunniens	FreahwaterFreshwater drum	1	0.5%
Artiodctyla, Indeterminate	Goat/Sheep/Deer	6	2.7%
Bos Taurus	Cattle	40	18.3%
Bovidae	Cattle/Bison	15	6.8%
Canis cf. *familiaris*	Dog	2	0.9%
Capra hircus	Goat	2	0.9%
Capra/Ovis	Goat/Sheep	1	0.5%
Equus sp.	Horses	1	0.5%
Gallus domesticus	Chicken	11	5.0%
Ictalurus sp.	Catfish	2	0.9%
Lampsilis[16]	Freshwater Mussel	35	16.0%
Lepisosteus sp.	Gar	3	1.4%
Meleagris gallopavo	Turkey	2	0.9%
Neotoma cf. *albigula*	White-throated Woodrat	6	2.7%
Neotoma micropus	Southern Plains Woodrats	1	0.5%
Neotoma sp.	Woodrats	3	1.4%
Odocoileus virginianus	White-tail Deer	2	0.9%
Peccari tajacu	Collared Peccary	2	0.9%
Pseudomys scripta	Red-Eared Slider	1	0.5%
Pylodictis olivaris	Yellow cCatfish	3	1.4%
Rana sp.	Frog	1	0.5%
Rattus rattus	Black Rat	73	33.3%
Sylvilagus sp.	Cottontail Rabbits	1	0.5%
Sus Scrofa	Domestic Pig	2	0.9%
Trionix sp.	Soft-shelled Turtles	3	1.4%
Total NISP		219	
Mammal, Indeterminate		1687	
Bird, Indeterminate		32	
Fish, Indeterminate		47	
Reptile, Indeterminate		2	
Total		**1987**	

[16] Meissner only analyzed vertebrate remains fromin the 1996 collection; I adapted her analysis and added *Lampsilis* (n=35).

While wild animals dominate the total identified collection, Meissner also performed a comparative analysis of the faunal materials according to their context and revealed that in "Colonial-period" contexts (Unit B, Levels 4 and 5; Unit C, Levels 4, 5, and 6) domesticated animals (n= 43) [17] and primarily cattle (n=27) comprised 75.4 percent of the identified species (**Table 5-15**; ibid: 23-25). Wild animals (n=14) on the other hand comprised 24.6 percent of the identified species and included various fish (n=5), turtles (n=3), wood rats (n=3), white-tail deer (n=2), and collard peccary (n=1). Meissner only included vertebrate remains in her faunal analysis and as such, she did not include freshwater mussel shells (*Lampsilis*, n=19) in her comparative analysis. When included, freshwater mussel shells comprise 24.1 percent of the total identified species in the "Colonial-period" contexts, leading to an increase in the proportion of wild animals (n=33) in the collection to 43.4 percent and a concomitant decrease in the proportion of domesticated animals (n=43) to 56.6 percent of the identified species in the "Colonial-period" deposits. The near even proportions of domesticated and wild animals and specifically cattle (n=27; 34.2 percent) and riverine animals (n=27; 34.2 percent) of identified specimens in the "Colonial-period" contexts almost mirrors the same data from the identified specimens in the 1976 "Colonial" faunal collection that is composed of 52.7 percent domesticated animals (n=48) and 47.3 percent wild animals (n=43) with 23.1 percent cattle (n=21) and 42.9 percent riverine animals (n=42).

In her comparative analysis, Meissner also identified a "Mixed" context (Unit A, Levels 3 and 4; Unit B, Level 3; Unit C, Level 3) that contained both "Colonial and post-Colonial" artifacts and a "post-Colonial" contextual category (Unit A, Levels 1 and 2; Unit B, Levels 1 and 2; Unit C, Levels 1 and 2) with only "post-Colonial artifacts" (Meissner 1997: 23). Unlike, the "Colonial-period" context, identified materials from the "Mixed" and "post-Colonial" contexts are primarily composed of wild animal[18] remains and make up 63.2 (n=36) and 84.8 (n=67) percent of the respective identified collections. In

[17] Meissner includes Bovidae (n=8) in the total domesticated animal total, but does not include small artiodactyls.
[18] Including freshwater mussel.

both contexts the black or roof rat (*Rattus rattus;* n=22; n=51) is the most commonly identified species and account for 38.6 and 64.6 percent of all identified specimens from the "Mixed" and "post-Colonial" contexts respectively. Meissner attributes the absence of *R. rattus* in the "Colonial period" deposits to the possibility that the "rat did not get established in the area until post-Colonial times" (ibid.: 25). While this is likely true, the abundance of *R. rattus* remains in these contexts may also represent the period after which the Governor's Palace was abandoned as a domestic residence in the early nineteenth century.

Table 5-15: Identified faunal specimens according to context[19].

Scientific Name	Colonial		Mixed		Post-Colonial	
	NISP	%	NISP	%	NISP	%
Aplodinotus grunniens	0	0.0%	1	1.6%	0	0.0%
Artiodactyla, Indeterminate	3	3.8%	3	4.9%	0	0.0%
Bos Taurus	27	34.2%	9	14.8%	4	5.1%
Bovinae	8	10.1%	7	11.5%	0	0.0%
Canis cf. *familiaris*	2	2.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Capra hircus	2	2.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Capra/Ovis	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	1.3%
Equus sp.	1	1.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Gallus domesticus	3	3.8%	3	4.9%	5	6.3%
Ictalurus sp.	2	2.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Lampsilis	19	24.1%	8	13.1%	8	10.1%
Lepisosteus sp.	2	2.5%	0	0.0%	1	1.3%
Meleagris gallopavo	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	2.5%
Neotoma cf. *albigula*	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6	7.6%
Neotoma micropus	1	1.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Neotoma sp.	2	2.5%	0	0.0%	1	1.3%
Odocoileus virginianus	2	2.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Peccari tajacu	1	1.3%	1	1.6%	0	0.0%
Pseudomys scripta	1	1.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Pylodictis olivaris	1	1.3%	2	3.3%	0	0.0%
Rana sp.	0	0.0%	1	1.6%	0	0.0%
Rattus rattus	0	0.0%	22	36.1%	51	64.6%
Sylvilagus sp.	0	0.0%	1	1.6%	0	0.0%
Sus Scrofa	0	0.0%	2	3.3%	0	0.0%
Trionix sp.	2	2.5%	1	1.6%	0	0.0%
Total NISP	**79**	**100%**	**61**	**100%**	**79**	**100%**

According to Meissner, evidence of culturally modified bone is relatively rare in the overall collection. Only 1.11 percent of the total collection shows evidence of burning (n=22) and 1.56 percent shows evidence of butchering (n=31). While Meissner did not delineate the contextual origins of the specimens displaying evidence of burning, she did indicate that the specimens with evidence of butchering were cattle-sized bones primarily from the "Colonial" context (n=19), although there are also

[19] Adapted from Meissner 1997: 24.

specimens recovered from the "Mixed" (n=8), and the "post-Colonial" (n=4) levels. One other specimen in the collection, a lower incisor from an adult goat (*C. hircus*) recovered from Unit C, Level 4, displays cultural modification. While the exact purpose is unclear, the incisor is extremely worn with little enamel still present and has a highly polished notch "at the border between the enamel and the cementum" (ibid: 21). Meissner identified five other similar specimens from other Colonial-age collections including Mission San Juan Capistrano (41BX5; n=4) and the Alamo Plaza (41BX438; n=1) collection and suggests that they represent "a tool of some sort" (ibid: 23).

Discussion

As a result of the 1996 excavations, Anne Fox determined that the Spanish Governor's Palace's foundation trenches had originally been excavated through intact deposits that dated to the eighteenth century, indicating that the Spanish Governor's Palace was built on a previously occupied site (ibid: 16). Furthermore, Fox cited James Ivey, a noted architectural historian and archaeologist with vast experience in San Antonio to suggest that the construction techniques used to build the existing Governor's Palace followed a method that was utilized for "more substantial buildings during the mission period," indicating that if the deposits do predate the existing structure, then they date to the earliest occupation of the *Plaza de Armas* (ibid.: 16). Fox concluded that the bottom of the foundation of the Governor's Palace was deeper than the building foundations explored in the 1976 excavations, which indicates that the two structures were constructed at different times and likely for different purposes (ibid.:16).

As with the materials from the 1976 excavations, it is difficult to statistically correlate the data recovered from the three 1996 units in any meaningful way and it is unclear if the deposits encountered are associated with a single midden or with numerous features. Table 5-16 provides a comparison of the three units according to faunal bone and artifact densities and the proportions of ceramic types found in each unit and reveals that in terms of faunal bone and artifact density, Units B and C are similar

to each other while the Unit A artifact density is not too dissimilar. A closer examination of the assemblage reveals that unlike Unit B and C, the Unit A artifact collection is primarily glass (n=178; 56.5 percent) and metal (n=75; 23.8 percent) while ceramics (n=40) only make up 12.7 percent. On the other hand, the Unit B and Unit C collections are 45.2 and 50.6 percent ceramics respectively.

Table 5-16: Unit Comparison According to Relative Densities and Proportions of Ceramic Types

Unit	Faunal Bone (g) per m^3	Artifacts per m^3	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial Wares	English Wares
A	332.6	681.2	2.5%	25%	72.5%
B	1740.9	567.1	26%	65.35%	8.65%
C	1439.1	557.2	52.5%	47.5%	0%

Unit A is also different from the other two Units in that it did not have a "Colonial" context as identified by Meissner in her faunal analysis. Meissner's determination of contexts was largely based on the presence of nineteenth century artifacts found throughout the Unit, specifically English ceramics. As a result, the Unit's overall MCD equals 1802.8 and that when adjusted provides a range between 1817.8 and 1832.8. More specifically, the MCD for the total "Mixed" context (Levels 3 and 4) assemblage is 1792.4 and when adjusted for time lag equals 1807.4 to 1822.4, while the temporally diagnostic decorated (n=12) MCD for the "Mixed" context is 1823.4 (1838.4 to 1853.4). Similarly, the MCD for the "Post-colonial" context total assemblage is 1815.5 (1830.5 to 1845.5) while the temporally diagnostic decorated (n=4) MCD is 1829.8 (1844.8 to 1859.8;**Table** 5-17).

Table 5-17: Unit A Mean Ceramic Date According to Context.

Type	**Date Range**	**Median**	**Total Unit**	**"Mixed" Context**	**"Post-Colonial" Context**
Annular Ware (Pearlware), Banded	1785-1840	1812.5	1	1	N/A
Goliad Ware	1720-1820	1770	1	1	N/A
Lead-Glazed Ware, Galera	1725-1850	1787.5	3	1	2
Lead-Glazed Ware, Yellow and Green Glaze	1700-1800	1750	2	2	N/A
Majolica, Indeterminate	1650-1830	1740	3	3	N/A
Majolica, Undecorated	1720-1850	1785	1	N/A	1
Pearlware, Hand Painted Polychrome, Indeterminate	1775-1840	1807.5	3	3	N/A

Tablen 5-17: Unit A Mean Ceramic Date According to Context Continued.

Type	Date Range	Median	Total Unit	"Mixed" Context	"Post-Colonial" Context
Pearlware, Transfer Printed, Blue	1784-1840	1812	5	3	2
Pearlware, Undecorated	1780-1840	1810	6	1	5
Porcelain, Undecorated	1720-1850	1785	4	1	3
Storage Jar, Middle Style	1580-1780	1680	1	1	N/A
Whiteware, Sponged	1830-1860	1845	2	2	N/A
Whiteware, Transfer Printed Flow Blue	1840-1860	1850	1	N/A	1
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Green	1829-1850	1840	2	2	N/A
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Purple	1829-1860	1845	1	N/A	1
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Red	1829-1850	1840	1	1	N/A
Whiteware, Undecorated Ironstone	1830-1900	1865	3	N/A	3
Total			**40**	**22**	**18**
Mean Ceramic Date (Total Product/Total Count)=			**1802.8**	**1792.4**	**1815.5**

Although Unit B had a "Colonial" deposit (Levels 4 and 5) and overall the Unit B assemblages is very different from the Unit A assemblage, just like Unit A, CAR archaeologists recovered the majority of materials from the Unit B "Mixed" (Level 3; 40.6 percent of the faunal assemblage [n=350.5 g] and 40.6 percent of the unit assemblage [n=114]) and the "Post-colonial" (Level 1 and 2; 26.7 percent of the faunal assemblage [n=230.2 g] and 43.1 percent of the unit artifact assemblage [n=121]) contexts. However, the Unit A "Mixed" context assemblage was primarily English ceramics (n=14; 63.6 percent) with lesser proportions of Spanish Colonial wares (n=7; 31.8 percent) and Goliad Ware (n=1; 4.5 percent), while the Unit B "Mixed" assemblage is predominately Spanish Colonial wares (n=45; 55.5 percent) and Goliad Ware (n=31; 38.3 percent). As a result, the Unit B "Mixed" context has a MCD of 1768.1 and an adjusted MCD of 1783.1 to 1798.1. However, the temporally diagnostic decorated (n=6) MCD for the Unit B "Mixed" context is 1785.5 (1802 to 1817.5;**Table** 5-18).

Similarly, although the Unit B "Post-colonial" deposit is predominately composed of English wares (n=7; 58.3 percent), the collection is composed of types with production date ranges in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century including a sherd of creamware and a scalloped rim or "Feather Edge" pearlware. Conversely, the Unit A "Post-colonial" assemblage is made up of English wares including transfer printed whiteware (n=2) and ironstone whiteware which have production date ranges that begin in the second quarter of the nineteenth century and extend to the 1860s. As such, the total assemblage from Unit B "Post-colonial" has a MCD of 1788.5 (1803.5 to 1818.5) and actually predates the Unit A "Mixed" assemblage MCD (**Table** 5-18). Similarly, the temporally diagnostic decorated sherd collection (n=5) MCD from the Unit B "Post-colonial" context is 1811.4 (1826-1841.4) and predates the Unit A "Mixed" temporally diagnostic decorated MCD.

The Unit B "Colonial" deposit (Level 4 and 5) was not as dense as the Unit B "Mixed" context and primarily contained faunal bone (n=281.9 g; 32.7 percent of total faunal assemblage) and Spanish colonial ceramics (n=32; 94.1 percent of Level 4 and 5 ceramic assemblage and 69.5 percent of Level 4 and 5 artifact assemblage). Indeterminate Coarse Earthen ware (n=20) represents the majority of ceramics recovered from the Unit B "Colonial" deposit, and overall the deposit's ceramics have a long production date range that span the eighteenth century, and as such the zone's MCD equals 1763.2 (1778.2 to 1793.2). Similarly, the Unit B "Colonial" temporally diagnostic decorated sherd sample is composed of two sherds of PubelaBlue-on-White I majolica that has a MCD of 1740 (1755-1770).

Table 5-18: Unit B Mean Ceramic Date According to Context

Type	Date Range	Median	Total Unit	"Colonial" Context	"Mixed" Context	"Post-Colonial" Context
Annular Ware (Pearlware), Banded	1785-1840	1812.5	3	N/A	3	N/A
Coarse Earthenware, Indeterminate	1720-1820	1770	52	20	32	N/A
Creamware, Plain with Scalloped edge	1762-1820	1791	1	N/A	N/A	1

Table 5-18: Unit B Mean Ceramic Date According to Context Continued.

Type	Date Range	Median	Total Unit	"Colonial" Context	"Mixed" Context	"Post-Colonial" Context
Edgeware, Scalloped Rim, Impressed Curved Lines	1802-1832	1817	3	N/A	N/A	3
Goliad Ware	1720-1820	1770	33	2	31	N/A
Lead-Glazed Ware, Red Brown	1700-1800	1750	2	2	N/A	N/A
Lead-Glazed Ware, Smooth Brown	1700-1800	1750	2	N/A	2	N/A
Lead-Glazed Ware, Yellow and Green Glaze	1700-1800	1750	10	4	2	4
Lustreware	1790-1840	1815	1	N/A	N/A	1
Majolica PubelaPuebla Blue-on-white I	1650-1830	1740	4	2	2	N/A
Majolica, Indeterminate	1650-1830	1740	5	2	3	N/A
Majolica, Undecorated	1720-1850	1785	3	1	1	1
Pearlware, Hand Painted Polychrome, Indeterminate	1775-1840	1807.5	1	N/A	1	N/A
Pearlware, Undecorated	1780-1840	1810	2	N/A	N/A	2
Storage Jar, Middle Style	1580-1780	1680	1	N/A	1	N/A
Tonalá Burnished Ware	1720–1810	1765	3	N/A	3	N/A
Valero Red Painted	1700-1825	1762.5	1	1	N/A	N/A
Total			**127**	**34**	**81**	**12**
Mean Ceramic Date (Total Product/Total Count) =			**1768.7**	**1763.2**	**1768.1**	**1788.5**

Unlike Unit B, the Unit C "Colonial" deposit (Levels 4, 5, and 6) with the exception of Level 6 was the densest zone in the unit. Level 4 contained nearly double the total unit average with 946.33 artifacts and 3,293.8 g of animal bone per m^3 and Level 5 had approximately 1,045.2 artifacts and 930 g animal bone per m^3. Accordingly, the faunal bone (n=598.1 g), shell (n=16), and ceramics (n=195) recovered from Levels 4 and 5 comprise 56.3, 69.6, and 87.4 percent of the respective unit totals while the lithics (n=85) recovered from Levels 4, 5 and 6 accounted for 88.5 percent of all lithics recovered from the unit.

Again, unlike the Unit B "Colonial" context, the Unit C "Colonial" context was comprised of nearly even proportions of Goliad Ware (n=105) and Spanish Colonial Wares (n=90) making up 53.8 and 46.2 percent respectively of the Unit C "Colonial" context ceramics. Like the Unit B "Colonial" context,

the Unit C zone also had a high proportion of Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware (n=31) although the zone also contained a nearly even proportion of majolica (n=28). Despite the proportional differences between the Unit B and C "Colonial" assemblages, the MCD for the Unit C zone of 1764.9 (1779.9 to 1794.9) slightly post-dates the same zone for Unit B (**Table** 5-19). The temporally diagnostic decorated sherd sample (n=2) for the context is just as small as the Unit B sample, but is comprised of a Puebla Polychome and a Puebla Blue-on-White I sherd which results in a much earlier MCD of 1713.8 (1728.8 to 1743.8).

Table 5-19: Unit C Mean Ceramic Date According to Context

Type	Date Range	Median	Total Unit	"Colonial" Context	"Mixed" Context	"Post-Colonial" Context
Coarse Earthenware, Indeterminate	1720-1820	1770	34	31	1	2
Goliad Ware	1720-1820	1770	117	105	9	3
Lead-Glazed Ware, Galera	1725-1850	1787.5	4	3	1	N/A
Lead-Glazed Ware, Indeterminate Hand Painted	1700-1800	1750	1	1	N/A	N/A
Lead-Glazed Ware, Red Brown	1700-1800	1750	2	2	N/A	N/A
Lead-Glazed Ware, Smooth Brown	1700-1800	1750	1	1	N/A	N/A
Lead-Glazed Ware, Yellow and Green Glaze	1700-1800	1750	17	13	1	3
Majolica, Indeterminate	1650-1830	1740	22	20	1	1
Majolica PubelaPuebla Blue-on-White I	1650-1830	1740	1	1	N/A	N/A
Majolica, Puebla Polychrome	1650-1725	1687.5	1	1	N/A	N/A
Majolica, San Elizario	1750-1850	1800	1	N/A	1	N/A
Majolica, Undecorated	1720-1850	1785	9	6	N/A	3
Valero Red Painted	1700-1825	1762.5	7	7	N/A	N/A
Red Burnished Ware	1725-1800	1762.5	6	4	2	N/A
Total			**223**	**195**	**16**	**12**
Mean Ceramic Date (Total Product/Total Count) =			**1765.3**	**1764.9**	**1768.9**	**1766.3**

The Unit C "Mixed" context (Level 3) displayed a high density of animal bones (n=304.6g) with 2,151.1 g per m^3, but a much lower artifact density than Levels 4 and 5 with only 190.68 artifacts per m^3.

Although there were far fewer sherds in the zone, the Unit B "Mixed" context contained nearly even proportions of Goliad Ware (n=9) and Spanish Ccolonial wares (n=7) with each comprising 56.25 and 43.75 percent of the Level 3 ceramic assemblage. Similarly, like the Unit C "Colonial" deposit, and the "Mixed" context contained relatively high proportions of lithics (n=7; 24.1 percent of Level 3 artifact assemblage) and mussel shell (n=4; 13.8 percent of the Level 3 artifact assemblage). Despite the small sample size and higher proportion of Goliad Ware, the MCD for the Unit C "Mixed" context of 1768.9 (1783.9 to 1798.9) is nearly identical to the same context for Unit B (Table 5-19). However, a single sherd of San Elizario majolica comprises the temporally diagnostic decorated sherd sample recovered from the Unit C "Mixed" context and as such, the MCD for the context is 1800.

Finally, the Unit C "Post-colonial" context (Levels 1 and 2) was unlike the same deposits from Units A and B in that they did not contain English ceramics. Instead, Meissner and Fox determined that the nature of the context based on the presence of nineteenth and twentieth century artifacts including a car key recovered from Level 2. As a result, it is likely that these uppermost levels were disturbed to some extent, and as such, the zone's MCD of 1766.3 (1781.3 to 1796.3) should be accepted with extreme caution.

Although it is difficult to directly correlate the deposits explored in the three units, the general conclusion reached by Fox is supported by the comparative analysis above, and that to some degree, the three units provide evidence of stratified deposits that span the occupational history of the property and predate the existing structure. While the analysis above highlights some of the problems attributed to Meissner's contexts, evidence of these stratified deposits is probably best depicted by the proportions of ceramic types found in the three units according to Meissner's contexts (**Figure 5-28**). According to these data, near equal proportions of Goliad Ware and Spanish Colonial wares were found within the "Colonial" deposits and both types proportionally decrease over time, and most dramatically during the "Post-colonial" period when Goliad Ware decreases from approximately 35 percent of the

assemblages to less than 10 percent and concomitantly, English wares increase from about 15 percent to over 60 percent.

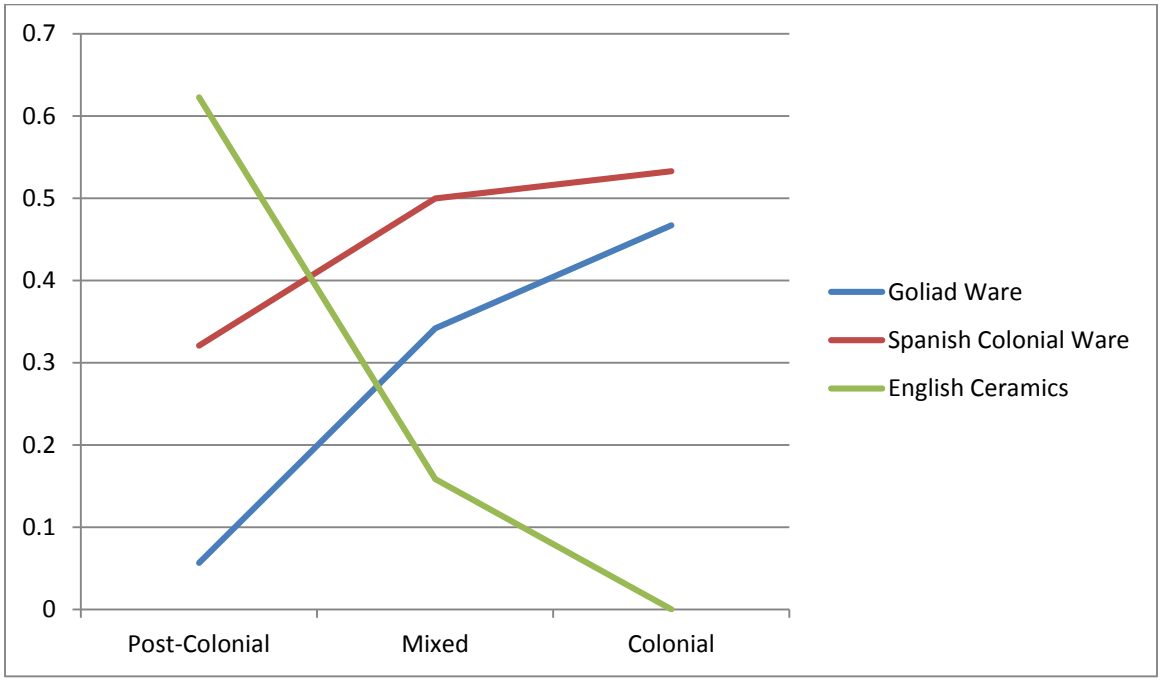

Figure 5-28: 1996 Excavation Proportions of Ceramic Types According to Context

While the "Post-colonial" data are useful for some purposes, in some cases like Unit C, the context was obviously disturbed and should be viewed with caution. More importantly, the 1996 excavations in front of the Spanish Governor's Palace provide good evidence of eighteenth century deposits, some of which appear to predate the existing structure. As indicated above, the record of the property where the existing Governor's Palace sits is unclear until the 1760s when Captain Luis Antonio Menchaca received the property. Menchaca's 1764 map depicts a structure very similar to the existing structure suggesting the possibility that the existing structure may date to Menchaca's occupation of the site in the 1760s (Figure 5-3). Given this possibility and despite the MCDs from the "Colonial" contexts, the "Colonial" deposits that predate the structure likely may reflect occupation in the area before the 1760s.

More importantly, given Menchaca's lineage and his family's history of occupation in *Béxar*, it is likely that his family lived in the vicinity of the *Casa de Capitán* and these deposits to some extent represent domestic life in the presidio in the early to mid-eighteenth century. Like the 1976 colonial context collection, the 1996 collection is comprised of high volumes of faunal materials, primarily domesticated cattle and resources from nearby rivers as well as utilitarian Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware and locally-produced Goliad Ware. Like the 1976 collection, this collection contains very little evidence of wild game, a fairly homogenous assemblage of Mexican-made ceramics, and very few other materials. Again, the exception is the relatively high volume of lithic tools and debitage found throughout the deposits. As such, this collection supports the conclusion that local resources and technologies were integral to daily life in the eighteenth century.

Conclusion

Although the excavation efforts and associated collections presented above are modest when compared to the decades of work that has occurred at the San Antonio missions, the fact is that the 1976 and 1996 investigations at the Spanish Governor's Palace provide some of the best evidence for what appears to be early to mid-eighteenth century domestic life in *Béxar*. Two of my goals for the reevaluation of the 1976 and 1997 field efforts and collections are to refine the site's chronology and to establish the hallmarks of an early to mid-eighteenth century assemblage. I use the chronological framework laid out in this chapter as comparative material for the following two chapters and highlight changes in the material record during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

Establishing a clear chronology for the deposits at 41BX179 is difficult because such chronology it is primarily based on relative dates, according to poorly documented caliche floors and an unknown construction date of the Spanish Governor's Palace itself. In the chronological sketches outlined above in the discussion sections I suggested that:

- The Unit B-E midden reflects a single filling episode associated with the construction of a wall (Levels 7 and 8) and represents at least one, and maybe two, periods of gradual midden accumulation (Levels 6 and 3 and 4) separated by a sterile zone of caliche fill (Level 5) that all date to the early to mid-eighteenth century.
- The Area A, Floor 2 is likely evidence of an occupation that predates José Miguel Hernández and Maria Luisa Guerrero's occupation of the tract represented by Area A, Floor 1 and dates to the 1760s through the early nineteenth century. .
- The "Colonial" deposits exposed during the 1996 excavations predate the construction of the existing Spanish Governor's Palace, which may have been constructed in the 1760s by Luis Antonio Menchaca. However, the "Colonial" deposits are likely associated with Menchaca's family, previous presidio captains, or with both.

In an attempt to clarify these relative dates, I also determined the mean ceramic dates for the deposits within each unit according to their contexts (Table 5-20). These data are also terribly flawed, and in many ways highlight problems with the South's methodology (South 1978: 238-252). To begin with, the overall MCD for the contexts determined to be eighteenth century or "Colonial" (Area A, Levels 3-5; Unit B-E, Levels 2-8; Unit B, Levels 4 and 5 and Unit C, Levels 4-6) all have MCDs that cluster around the 1860s due to the wide date ranges of the ceramic types in the assemblages. The outlier is Floor 2 (Area A, Level 4) which has a MCD of 1742.5 that is based on a very small sample (n=3) that is heavily weighted by a sherd of Puebla Polychrome (1687.5). Similarly, I attempted to correct the problem of the assemblages' wide production ranges by determining the MCDs for the temporally diagnostic decorated samples in each assemblage, which were also typically small samples that displayed very little variation. Using the same example as above, the only temporally diagnostic decorated sherd in Floor 2 (Area A, Level 4), a single sherd of Puebla Polychrome, results in a MCD of 1687.5, a date that predates occupation in San Antonio all together. Furthermore, I added adjusted

MCDs to correct for time lag (+15 to 30 years to each MCD), which was likely significant in San Antonio as a frontier outpost. However, the adjusted MCDs do little to refine the dates for the earlier deposits, and instead the adjusted MCDs more accurately reflect the assemblage production periods, which again, span the eighteenth century.

Table 5-20: Mean Ceramic Dates According to Contexts Investigated at 41BX179.

Year	Area/Unit	Level/Zone	MCD	Adjusted MCD	Temporally Diagnostic Decorated MCD	Adjusted MCD
1976	Unit A	2(Floor 1)	1761.2	1776.2-1791.2	1807.5	1822.5-1837.5
1976	Unit A	3 (Below Floor 1)	1757.1	1772.1-1787.1	1740	1755-1770
1976	Unit A-W	3 (Above Floor 2)	1765.4	1780.4-1795.4	1740	1755-1770
1976	Unit A	4 (Floor 2)	1742.5	1757.5-1772.5	1687.5	1702.5-1717.5
1976	Unit A	5 (Below Floor 2)	1758.3	1773.3-1788.3	1713.8	1728.8-1743.8
1976	Unit B-E	1 (19thCentury)	1848.6	1863.6-1878.3	1822.5	1837.5-1852.5
1976	Unit B-E	2, 3 and 4 (18thCentury)	1761.8	1776.8-1791.8	1737.8	1752.8-1767.8
1976	Unit B-E	6 (18thCentury)	1762.5	1777.5-1792.5	1740	1755-1770
1996	Unit B-E	7 and 8 (18thCentury)	1767.9	1782.9-1797.9	1736	1751-1766
1996	Unit A	1 and 2 (Post-Colonial)	1815.5	1830.5-1845.5	1829.8	1844.8-1859.8
1996	Unit A	3 and 4 (Mixed)	1792.4	1807-1822	1823.4	1828.4-1853.4
1996	Unit B	1 and 2 (Post-Colonial)	1788.5	1803.5-1818.5	1811.4	1826.4-1841.4
1996	Unit B	3 (Mixed)	1768.1	1783.1-1798.1	1787.5	1802.5-1817.5
1996	Unit B	4 and 5 (Colonial)	1763.2	1778.2-1793.2	1740	1755-1770
1996	Unit C	1 and 2 (Post-Colonial)	1766.3	1781.3-1796.3	N/A	N/A
1996	Unit C	3 (Mixed)	1768.9	1783.9-1798.9	1800	1815-1830
1996	Unit C	4,5, and 6 (Colonial)	1764.9	1779.9-1794.9	1713	1728.8-1743.8

While these assemblages are clearly not ideal for South's methodology, one important take away from using it is that it confirms my and other analysts' inferences that the deposits in question are definitively eighteenth century deposits. This determination does little to establish actual dates to these deposits beyond the relative dates suggested above, i.e. contemporaneous with the construction

of the wall in Unit B-E, before José Miguel Hernández and Maria Luisa Guerrero's occupation, and before the construction of the existing Spanish Governor's Palace.

The only other published comparable evidence comes from the Texas Historical Commission's excavations at the San Fernando Cathedral (41BX7) in 1975. The published report and associated data from the THC's investigation are far less thorough and accessible than those from CAR's excavations at the Governor's Palace. However, the investigation at the San Fernando Cathedral did identify evidence of occupation that predates the original church that began construction in 1738 and lasted through 1749 (Fox et al. 1977: 7; 33) The evidence of this early occupation at the cathedral location is even more modest than that recovered from the Spanish Governor's Palace, but similar to the deposits at 41BX179 the pre-1738 deposit at 41BX7 was primarily composed of Goliad Ware (n=36), Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware (n=2), and a limited variety of majolica sherds (n=20) including Puebla Polychrome (n=3) and Puebla Blue-on-White I (n=5; ibid: 32). Unfortunately, the faunal analysis for the San Fernando Cathedral collection (41BX7) was not done according to context, and a reanalysis of the nearly 4,000 specimens is outside of the scope of this investigation. As a result, a comparison between the two faunal collections would not be worthwhile. It is worth noting that the Cathedral faunal collection was by far the largest assemblage (n=3,772) with the majority (n=3,737; 99.1 percent) being vertebrates. Although the largest proportion of the identified specimens from the 41BX7 collection were human remains (n=147; 4 percent), the majority of the collection was unidentifiable mammals.

Statistically speaking, the 41BX7 century ceramic assemblage is significantly different from all of the assemblages from eighteenth century contexts at 41BX179. However, the same can be said when comparing the Spanish Governor's assemblages to each other. These differences are likely a result of relatively small sample sizes and distinct depositional patterns that were insufficiently investigated. While the ceramic assemblages are significantly different, there are some trends across the assemblages

that are unique to eighteenth century deposits. The most obvious characteristic of the 41BX179 and 41BX7 eighteenth century ceramic assemblages is that they are entirely comprised of ceramic types produced in Mexico and Central Texas (Table 5-21). Locally produced Goliad Ware comprises an average of 34 percent of the ceramics recovered from eighteenth century contexts at 41BX179 and 41BX7, although proportions of Goliad Ware range between 5.9 and 62 percent in the Unit B and 41BX7 assemblages respectively. Similarly, Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware, including Valero Red ware, comprises an average of 36 percent of the aforementioned assemblages, but ranges between 3.5 and 75.3 percent in the 41BX7 and Unit A-W assemblages.

Table 5-21: Proportions of Ceramic Types Recovered from 41BX179 and 41BX7

Ceramic Type	Unit A	Unit A-W	Unit B-E	Unit B	Unit C	41BX7	Average
Goliad	20%	8.7%	53.60%	5.9%	53.85%	62%	34%
Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware[20]	27%	75.3%	31%	61.8%	19.5%	3.5%	36%
Majolica	36.7%	5.8%	7.6%	14.7%	14.3%	34.5%	18.94%
Sandy Paste Lead-Glaze Ware	10%	7.2%	3.4%	11.8%	7.2%	0%	6.61%
Fine Paste Lead-Glaze Ware	3.3%	0%	2.6%	5.8%	3.0%	0%	2.46%
Other Wares	3.3%	3.0%	1.8%	0%	2.0%	0%	1.67%
Total	100%	100	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The ranges of proportions of Goliad Ware and Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware across the assemblages are interesting and may reflect a variety of possibilities including evidence for changes in the availability of these ceramic types across time or differences in consumer choices by individuals or families that may, or may not, be linked to ethnic identity. In these cases, the samples are too small to make any determinations at these levels. However, the data do initiate a worthwhile discussion

[20] Count includes Valero Ware samples.

regarding the origins of Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware. As discussed above, Fox and Ulrich (2008) among others have traditionally attributed Valero Red Ware to a local ceramic tradition based on the types' restricted distribution among assemblages in the San Antonio missions and other eighteenth and early nineteenth assemblages in the region. My discussion above indicated that in the past, ceramic analysts including Fox, have essentially classified all wheel-thrown Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware as Valero ware, and in doing so, have understated the variation in what may be a local or regional ceramic tradition. Although it is impossible at this point to definitively determine that the variety of Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware in these and other collections is evidence of locally or regionally produced ceramics, there is also little evidence in the literature definitively indicating that they were produced in Central Mexico. Chapters 6, 7, and 8 will continue to address this question.

On the other hand, majolica represents the third highest average proportion of ceramic types in the assemblages at 18.94 percent and with a range between 5.8 to 36.7 percent in Unit A-W and Unit A (1976) respectively. Majolica primarily represents evidence of table wares which leave only sandy paste lead-glaze wares, storage jars, and the various burnished wares as the only utilitarian wares present in the assemblages that were definitively produced in Central Mexico, which combined, make up an average of less than nine percent of each total assemblage. These data suggest that tablewares were more common in these households than utilitarian wares among the ceramic types definitively imported from Central Mexico. However, ceramic types representing utilitarian vessels combine to comprise an average of 78.6 percent of the households' eighteenth century assemblages, indicating at the very least that utilitarian forms played important functional roles in the eighteenth century household. The high proportions of Goliad Ware in these assemblages may indicate that the uneven proportion of imported table wares versus utilitarian wares from Central Mexico may not just be unique to these households, but rather that specific utilitarian needs were not being met by supplies from Central Mexico and that *Béxareños* in general were relying on regional technology and locally produced ceramics to fulfill specific

needs or supply shortfalls. This point becomes even more significant if Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware is considered a locally produced ceramic type, which if combined with the Goliad Ware totals, comprises an average of 70 percent of the assemblages.

There has not yet been a systematic study of Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware in Central Texas, and I assume if there ever is one, the results will be more complicated than local production versus imports. However, the average proportions of the types recognized in these collections are greater than all the ceramic types definitively from Central Mexico combined and clearly played important roles in some domestic life. This observation suggests that if they were imported from Central or Northern Mexico, then they were likely common utilitarian vessel forms not represented by lead-glaze wear ceramics, most likely ceramic griddles known as *comales*. The fact that they appear in near even proportions as Goliad Ware, at least suggests the possibility that the Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware production locations were closer to San Antonio than Central Mexico and may represent a local or regional ceramic tradition.

Along these same lines, a trend recognized across the unit assemblages from the 41BX179 investigations was the relative dearth of materials outside of faunal remains, ceramics and lithics. While faunal remains dominated all the assemblages (see discussion below), ceramics and lithics respectively made up an average of 70.1 and 26.4 percent of the eighteenth century assemblages with and an average combined total of 96.75 percent of all non-faunal artifacts recovered from eighteenth century contexts at 41BX179 (Figure 5-29). The absence of glass and metal in these assemblages speaks to something that was hinted about in the previous discussion about the ceramic assemblage, namely that supplies in eighteenth century *Béxar* were extremely limited and that the residents of the region likely turned to local resources and technologies to fulfill their needs. In this case, stone tools likely supplemented the limited amount of metal tools in the community while native made *ollas* likely stored

various liquids besides just water. Data presented in the following chapters will reveal that proportions of both Goliad Ware, Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware, and lithics all decrease over time as goods become more readily available from markets to the east. When these data are taken into account it becomes clear that supply shortages in the early to mid-eighteenth century led households to turn to local and regional resources and technologies to fulfill their needs.

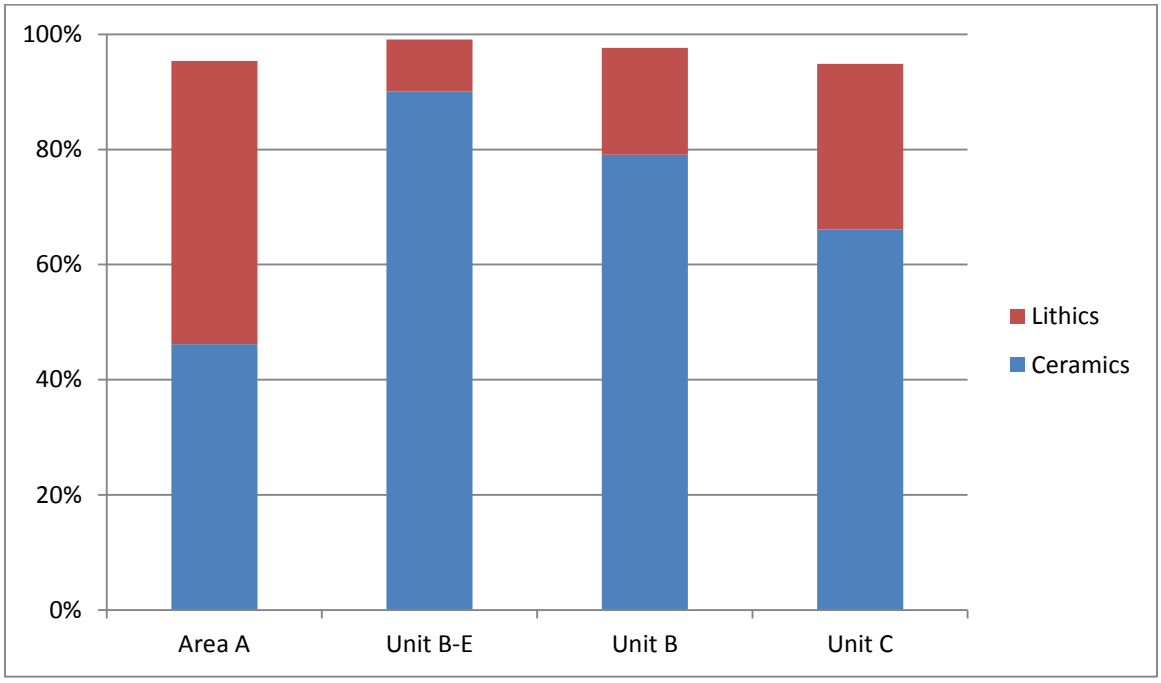

Figure 5-29: Proportions of Non-Faunal Artifact Types from Eighteenth Century Contexts at 41BX179.

Faunal remains far and away comprise the majority of evidence collected from eighteenth century contexts at 41BX179. Although, the majority of these samples are indeterminate mammals, the identified specimens assemblages from the 1976 and 1996 investigations at 41BX179 are nearly identical (Table 5-22). Both the 1976 and 1996 assemblages have nearly equal proportions of domesticated animals (52.7 and 56.6 percent respectively) and wild animals (47.3 and 43.4 percent respectively) with high proportions of cattle (23.1 and 34.2 percent respectively) and riverine resources (46.15 and 34.2 percent respectively). This evidence and the relatively low proportions of evidence for

wild game, especially the ever abundant white-tail deer (0 and 2.5 percent respectively) speaks to Fox's conclusion from the 1976 investigation that the frontier was too dangerous of a place and that "diet in terms of animal protein may have been restricted [due] to Apache depredations" (Fox 1977: 12). On the other side of that same coin, by the 1730s the missions had established successful free-range ranching practices that resulted in an abundance of cattle the missions commonly sold to the Presidio and villa at relatively cheap prices. While there is no doubt that the frontier around *Béxar* was extremely dangerous prior to the end of the Apache War in 1749, the high proportions of cattle remains in eighteenth century contexts are probably more of a reflection of the missions' early success in ranching than *Béxareños* fear of hunting on the frontier. This hypothesis is actually supported by the high proportions of riverine resources in the assemblages. Although the San Antonio River and San Pedro Creek are convenient resources within close proximity to the villa, the high proportions of riverine resources in these collections suggest that *Béxareños* likely fished and collected mussels across the greater landscape and not the just in the areas adjacent to the villa.

Table 5-22: Percentages of Identified Faunal Specimens from Eighteenth Century Contexts at 41BX179

Collection	Domesticated Animals	Cattle[21]	Wild Animals[22]	Riverine Resources
1976	52.7%	23.1%	47.3%	46.15%
1996	56.6%	34.2%	43.4%	34.2%

The investigations and associated collections at 41BX179 are modest at best, but as suggested, they represent some of the best evidence of eighteenth century domestic occupation in *Béxar*. My reevaluation of these data has tried to clarify that these are in fact early to mid-eighteenth century deposits, that they represent domestic occupations from at least two households, and that these two households show evidence of domestic trends that can also be recognized in part at 41BX7. My general

[21] Percent of total identified specimens.
[22] Percent of total identified specimens.

conclusion is that supplies were limited in *Béxar* during the eighteenth century and as a result, households turned to local and regional resources and technologies to fulfill their needs.

From a theoretical point of view based on materiality, these assemblages are evidence of the roles local and regional technologies played in constructing a regional identity. The evidence indicates that locally made ceramics and stone tools were a part of everyday life, and as a result, they were likely not seen as indigenous pots and bifaces, but instead as *ollas* and tools that were central to daily household practices. *Béxareños'* integration of stone tools and indigenous ceramics into their daily lives reflect a synthesis of their interactions with indigenous groups on the frontier and at the missions. Through interaction with indigenous groups and the adoption of indigenous goods, *Béxar*eños internalized and normalized regional technologies into daily practices, which in turn would have reorganized individuals' dispositions and the collective's habits. Similarly, the high proportions of Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware and evidence of cattle remains in the faunal assemblages represent *Béxareños*' adaptations to the frontier environment that resulted in distinct regional traditions and practices. Like the stone tools and Goliad Ware, the frontier diet and utilitarian wares were mundane aspects of ordinary life developed in a frontier context that were recursively integral to the processes of creating a specific regional identity. In a sense, Goliad Ware, stone tools, coarse earthenware and the frontier diet are the material analogs that show both how the settlement of the frontier reshaped the region and how the region reorganized the settlers' daily lives to create a distinct regional identity.

Chapter 6 : The Delgado Cistern: 41BX1753

Introduction

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, I served as the project archaeologist on the Main Plaza Renovation Project (MPRP) in downtown San Antonio from March 2007 to December 2008[23]. The MPRP was a two-phase project that consisted of major utility upgrades and a general renovation of the Plaza de las Islas or the Main Plaza and adjacent areas. Phase I of the redevelopment project included storm water drainage improvements and other utility upgrades located in both the plaza and the surrounding roadways, while Phase II included various landscaping, utility, and other infrastructure improvements to promote public use of the plaza.

On a Saturday morning in July of 2007 the construction crew installing the storm water drain encountered a nineteenth century privy feature (South Main Feature [SMF] 1) in the footprint of the storm water drain on South Main Street directly west of the Bexar County Courthouse and approximately 70 m south of the intersection of South Main Street and Market Street (Figure 6-1). After we identified SMF 1 we had the construction crew scrape the asphalt and overburden over the remaining portion of the storm water drain footprint and exposed four additional buried features including a Spanish Colonial-age cistern referred to here as the Delgado Cistern but in previous publications as SMF 2, two mid-nineteenth-century privies (SMF 1 and SMF 3), and two features with indeterminate functions that date to the late nineteenth century (SMF 4 and SMF 5). State Antiquities Landmark (SAL)-eligibility testing and data recovery investigations at 41BX1753 revealed that the site spanned the historical occupation of the property from

[23] Hanson, Casey 2016. *Archaeological Investigations for the Main Plaza Redevelopment Project, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas.* Document No. 150023. Atkins Austin, Texas.

settlement in the early eighteenth century until the County's acquisition of the tract in the early twentieth century.

41BX1753 was also the subject of my Master's thesis (Hanson 2010) and I presented a good portion of the analysis below in the Main Plaza technical report (Hanson 2016). The conclusions of these works were that the property where these features were located was originally the property of the Delgado family who were Canary Island setters, and the cistern (SMF 2) was likely associated with second generation *Isleño,* Clemente Delgado's occupation of the property in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. After over 100 years of nearly continuous occupation of the little stone house on the south side of the plaza by the Delgado family, the parcel and house eventually became the property of another prominent *Béxareño* and descendant of original presidial settlers, José Antonio de la Garza. Evidence suggests that José Antonio de la Garza likely never occupied the tract, but instead he turned it into one of the earliest boarding houses in San Antonio. Archaeological and archival evidence determined that the location was the site of the Baker House, Central Hotel, and the St. Leonard Hotel during the mid-to-late nineteenth century before the county purchased the land in the early twentieth century for the Bexar County courthouse expansion. The de la Garza family maintained ownership of the property until 1900 indicating that the lot on the south side of the plaza remained in the possession of original settlers for nearly 170 years.

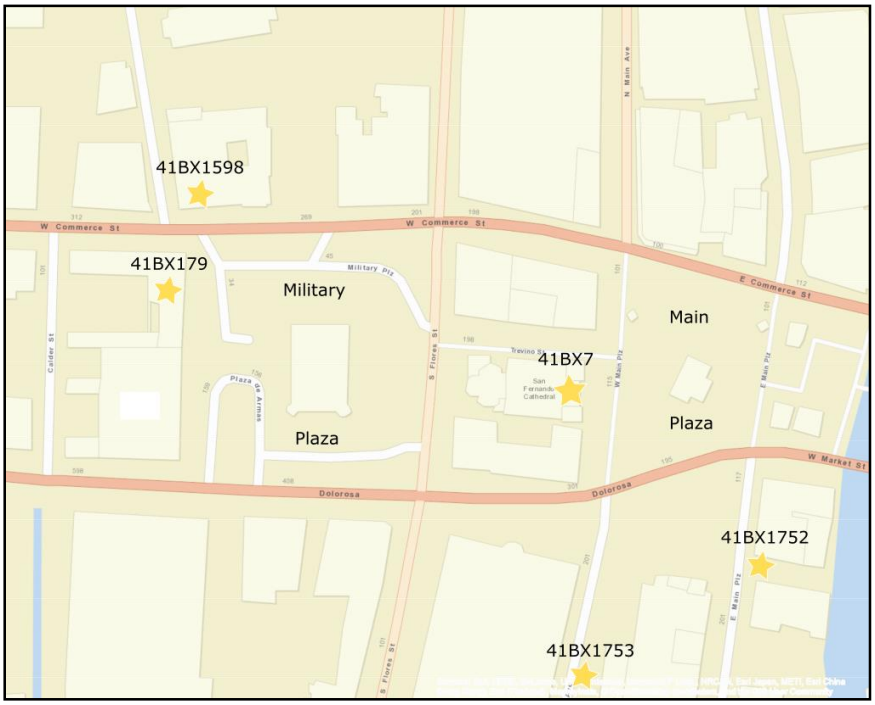

Figure 6-1: Location of 41BX1753 in relation to other case study sites.

While the other four features and the nineteenth century history of the parcel are significant, this chapter focuses on the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries occupation of the property and the evidence gathered from the Delgado Cistern. Like the evidence from the Spanish Governor's Palace, the Delgado Cistern collection is modest, but it provides some of the best evidence for late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries domestic occupation in *Béxar*. 41BX1753 serves as my case study for this period, but unlike the early eighteenth century collections, a very good comparative collection from a site on the north side of the Military Plaza, 41BX1598 is also discussed to provide further evidence of the material conditions of the *Tejano* community at the turn of the nineteenth century.

The following chapter begins with a summary of the archival history of the tract where the cistern was located and is followed by a summary of the field efforts and a presentation of the artifact collection. This effort builds from the 41BX179 discussion and attempts to refine the chronologies of the two sites by defining the chronology of 41BX1753 and highlighting the trends and differences recognized in the material culture. I also provide a synopsis of the same data from a third site,

41BX1598, which has deposits that are contemporaneous with 41BX1753, to fully investigate the material records within their respective contexts. From this exercise I conclude that an increased Anglo-American presence in the region leading up to and following the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 resulted in new trade markets for *Béxareños* and imported goods began to play a significant role in households during a period defined by revolution. Evidence from the 41BX1753 collection also indicates that traditions established in the eighteenth century continued during the period of revolution and these enduring material practices were integral to shaping identity during these periods.

Archival History

41BX1753 is situated on a parcel of land on the south side of the Main Plaza that was originally granted to Juan Delgado [1711-1745] as the head of the twelfth Canary Islander family. Juan Delgado was the oldest son of fellow settlers, Lucas Delgado [unknown-1730] and Maria Melian [ca. 1700-1740] who married Catharina Leal [1713-1794], daughter of the first Canary Islander family, Juan Leal Goraz and Lucia Hernandez. They married in Cuautitlán, Mexico, shortly after their arrival in the New World in 1730. Like most Canary Island settlers Juan Delgado was a farmer who also served in various positions on the *cabildo* including *alcalde* in 1736 (de la Teja 1988:407-428).

Figure 6-2: 1764 *Mapa Presidio De San Antonio de Béxar* by Luis Antonio Menchaca. A: Spanish Governor's Palace (41BX179); B: Plaza de Armas; C: San Fernando Cathedral (41BX7); D: Plaza de las Islas; E: Delgado House and Cistern (41BX1753); F: Núñez-Arocha House (41BX1598); G: Padrón-Cháves Midden (41BX1752): H: Barrio del Potrero (Menchaca 1764, Courtesy of John Carter Brown Library at Brown University).

Evidence indicates that Juan Delgado was granted a parcel on the south side of the Main Plaza where he built his home depicted as the westernmost rectangular structure on Menchaca's 1764 map (Figure 6-2[E]) and the middle structure on the south side of the plaza on Urrutia's 1767 map (Figure 6-3). Juan and Catharina Delgado had six children in *Béxar*, and although I was unable to locate Juan Delgado's will, Chabot indicates that he left his property to three of his children, Jacinto [1733–1780], Amador [ca. 1734–1799], and Josefa Antonia [1731–unknown], (Chabot 1937:173). The 1790 *Béxar* Census consecutively lists the households of Amador and Casiana Delgado, Josefa Guerra [1757–unknown], daughter of Josefa Antonia Delgado and Marcus Guerra and wife of Mariano Dominguez, and Clemente Delgado [1760–1833], Jacinto Delgado's only child from his first marriage and husband of Gertrudis

Delgado [1768–1841]. These census data indicate the likelihood that Juan Delgado's original grant remained divided among his heirs in some fashion throughout the eighteenth century.

Accordingly, in 1804 Josefa Guerra sold a lot to Silvestre Flores that fronted 5.5 *varas* onto the Main Plaza, contained a jacale, and was immediately west of the property of the deceased Amador Delgado (Guerra 1804; Ivey n.d.). Amador Delgado had nine children with his second wife, Casiana Galvan, including Tomás Delgado [1776–unknown] whom Antonio Menchaca [1800–1879] identified in his memoirs as living on the south side of the plaza directly east of Clemente Delgado. Furthermore, Menchaca also notes that Clemente's home was located where the Central Hotel was during the second half of the nineteenth century, which likely represents the same tract (Matovina et al. 2013:110).

According to the 1799 probate of Jacinto Delgado's estate, Amador served as the acting executor of his brother's estate subsequent to his brother's death in 1780, but Clemente Delgado was also involved in the distribution of his father's estate, and was the sole executor of the estate at the time of the probate hearing following Amador's death in 1799 (Delgado, Jacinto 1799:28). Among the inventory of Jacinto's property was a piece of property described as "15 *varas* of land and a house, inherited from his parents and grandparents and the shares of his brothers which he had purchased," which most likely represents the subject tract (Delgado, Jacinto 1799:7–8). While the probate does not specify the location of Jacinto's house and land, it does indicate that Jacinto purchased the shares of the property from both his brothers and his mother, Catharina Leal, and that at the time of the probate hearing, Clemente Delgado and his wife, Gertrudis Delgado were living in the house, which, with the land, was appraised at 13 pesos (Delgado 1799:17–18). As such, it would seem that Clemente Delgado inherited, and probably lived on the subject tract after his father's death in 1780, but did not receive legal right to the property until 1799.

Figure 6-3: Detail of José Ramón de Urrutia y de las Casas' 1767 "San Antonio de Vejar" map depicting A: Casa del Presidio; B: Casa del Capitan; C: Cuerpo de Guardia; D: Plaza de la Villa; E: Casa Reales; F: Iglesia (Foster et al. 2006).

Jacinto Delgado was a farmer who served on the *cabildo* nine times from 1763 to 1780, but he is also recognized as one of *Béxar*'s earliest ranchers with references tying him to his father-in-law's Rancho de Las Mulas as early as 1758, and to his own San Cristobal Ranch after that date (Delgado 1799:9; Jackson 1986:93). Jacinto married Rita Alvarez Travieso [1743–1761], the daughter of original Canary Island settlers Vicente Travieso and Maria Curbelo, making their only son Clemente, a third generation 'pure blooded' Canary Islander. Jacinto married Ramona de la Garza [1760–unknown] after his first wife passed on and had two daughters, Maria Gertrudes Delgado [1778–unknown] and Maria Antonia de la Luz Delgado [1779–unknown] (Gibson 2014d).

Clemente followed in his father's footsteps and served on the *cabildo* in 1791 and 1800 and was elected *alcalde* in 1812 (de la Teja 1988: 413). Clemente continued the ranching tradition that his father started (Figure 6-4), and evidence suggests that he was associated with Rancho de Las Mulas as early as 1782, but that he was also one of the more active and influential ranchers in the area from the 1780s

through the early nineteenth century (Jackson 1986: 245, 396, 622–623). Clemente married Maria Gertrudis de la Trinidad Saucedo (1768–1841), daughter of Jose Saucedo and Margarita Angulo, and had eight children (Gibson 2014d).

Figure 6-4 Clemente Delgado's cattle brand
(Jackson 1986:656).

An 1813 document from the "Rebel Properties" collection at the Bexar County Archives provides further insight into Clemente Delgado's personal and public life. These documents suggest that Clemente, along with many of the villa's prominent citizens, was identified as a rebel against the Crown during the 1813 revolution spearheaded by the Gutiérrez-Magee Expedition and that culminated in the Battle of Medina. While the documents do not reveal Clemente's specific role in the revolution, they do include an appraisal of his confiscated property including a stone house consisting of a living room and bedroom on a *suerte* fronting onto the south side of the Main Plaza measuring 17.5 *varas* wide and 119 *varas* deep, valued at 975 pesos (Delgado, Clemente 1813). Associated documentation indicates that Clemente's role in the revolution led to he and his family's being deported to Monclova, and while the confiscation of property was ubiquitous to all *Béxareños* determined to be rebels following the events of 1813, only "families and individuals still considered dangerous or suspicious" were deported from Texas (de la Teja 1996:28; Delgado 1814).

There is no clear indication as to when Clemente Delgado was pardoned or when his family was allowed to return to San Antonio, but the records suggest that it was almost immediately after Mexico

won its independence from Spain in the summer of 1821. While Clemente Delgado does not officially petition for the return of his house confiscated in 1813 until August 26, 1822, it appears that his wife, Maria Gertrudis Saucedo occupied the residence as early as December 11, 1821 (Benavides 1989). In the petition for the return of his home, Clemente Delgado states that upon confiscation by General Joaquin Arredondo his property was given illegally to José Rojo (Roxo) for services Rojo provided to Arredondo (Delgado 1822; Ivey n.d.). José Rojo then sold the property to Lt. Francisco Collantes, who occupied the property until Maria Gertrudis Saucedo claimed ownership of it in December of 1821 (Delgado 1822). This predictably infuriated Collantes who, in response to Maria Gertrudis Saucedo's claim, petitioned for the possession of the house seven times from December 11, 1821 to December 22, 1821, and twice more on January 16, 1822, this time from Monterrey (Benavides 1989). However, it was not until January 4, 1823 that Lt. Collantes was officially ordered to return the property to Clemente Delgado at Lt. Collantes' expense (ibid.).

In 1813, Lt. Francisco Collantes [unknown–1825], a Spaniard from Castile, married Maria Gertrudis Leonor Salinas [1796–unknown], a descendant of Leonor Delgado and Clemente Delgado's distant cousin (Gibson 2014d). The Salinas family occupation of the south side of the Main Plaza can be traced back to the late eighteenth-century occupation of Manuel Salinas, Gertrudis' father, because the *Béxar* Census data from 1797 and 1804 list Clemente Delgado and Manuel Salinas consecutively, suggesting the two were neighbors (Fox et al. 1989). This claim is supported by Antonio Menchaca's memoirs that place Manuel Salinas' household directly west of Clemente Delgado and by an 1834 deed record that indicates that Gertrudis Leonor Salinas owned a tract adjacent to the tract where Clemente Delgado's home was located (BCDR 2:507; Matovina et al. 2013:110). These records suggest that the Salinas family's occupation of the south side of the Main Plaza predated the confiscation of Clemente Delgado's home, and as a result, Lt. Collantes' purchase of the property subsequent to Delgado's deportation was possibly

a motive to further establish the Salinas family's presence on the southwest corner of the plaza, a presence that lasted until at least 1892 (Fox et al. 1989).

Following the return of his property in 1823, Clemente Delgado began to reestablish his position as a prominent rancher in *Béxar*. In 1824 he was placed in charge of producing an accounting report for the Fondo de Mesteñas (Mesteñas Fund), and he received two sítios (8,895 acres) of land in 1829 that he petitioned for in 1828 (Benavides 1989). In 1833 he, together with José Gomez and Antonio Salinas were appointed comisarios of the neighborhoods around the Alamo and La Villita, as well as the neighborhoods north and south of town (Benavides 1989). Clemente died later that year, and in the partition of his estate the following year (1834), his wife, Maria Gertrudis Saucedo received the title to the stone house that sat on a lot "fronting 17 1/2 *varas* (48.5 feet) north on the south side of the Plaza Principal, going back 130 *varas* (360.75 feet) to the street of the Lower Labor" (Delgado 1834). The record also indicates that the house of Gertrudis Salinas was located on the parcel east of the Delgado's, and that a jacal belonging to Dona Gertrudis Salinas sat to the west (Delgado 1834; Fox et al 1989).

It is evident that Maria Gertrudis Saucedo died shortly after acquiring the tract in 1834, due to the appearance of the 1837 *Inventory, Appraisement, and Distribution of the Estates of Clemente Delgado and Maria Gertrudis Saucedo for the years 1832, 1833, and 1834* (Delgado 1837). This document clarifies that Clemente Delgado and Maria Gertrudis Saucedo died "without having left a will," and records the appraisement and partition of their estate among their heirs (Delgado 1837). The inventory lists numerous pieces of land, pieces of personal property, livestock, as well as collectable and owed debts. Among these possessions is the "one stone house situated on the Main Plaza of this city, on the south side; [bounded] on the South by the street which leads to the Lower Labor; on the East by the house owned by Gertrudis Salinas; on the North by the said plaza and on the West by a jacal of the aforesaid Gertrudis Salinas" valued at 1000 pesos (Delgado 1837). The inventory goes on to say that the stone house was furnished with a

wooden bench with a back (4 pesos), six wooden chairs with leather seats (5 pesos, 4 reales), one wooden chest with its lid and key (3 pesos), one worn wooden table (1 peso, 4 reales), one small bench (1 peso), one common tin lantern (1 peso, 2 reales), 1 iron bar (3 pesos), and a worn mattress (3 pesos) (Delgado 1837).

The 1837 partition of the Delgado estate indicates that Clemente's daughter, Encarnacion Delgado received 1000 pesos for the value of the house, a reference to an 1835 transaction in which the Delgado heirs sold the house and subject tract to Luisa de Urteaga de Elozúa (Bexar County Deed Records F2:30–31; Ivey n.d.). This 1835 transaction describes the same house and lot confiscated from Clemente in 1813, but makes the important note that while the house fronted 17.5 *varas* onto the south side of the Main Plaza, the lot was only 16 *varas* wide with the house extending 1.5 *varas* onto the property of the deceased Gertrudis Salina to the west (ibid.). At the time that she purchased the subject tract, Mara Luisa Urteaga de Elozúa was the widow of Antonio Elozúa, a high ranking officer in the Spanish and Mexican militaries and former Governor of Coahuila from 1820 to 1822 during the transition to Mexican Independence (Benavides 2014). Antonio Elozúa married Luisa Urteaga in 1825, had three children and adopted a daughter (Benavides 2014). Elozúa retired from his position as the principal commander of the military troops in Texas in 1833 due to poor health, and died shortly after in *Béxar* (Benavides 2014).

Luisa Urteaga de Elozúa passed away only 8 years later in 1841 while living at Presidio del Rio Grande, indicating that she probably did not live in Clemente's old house on the south side of the plaza. When Luisa died she left two surviving sons including Antonio Elozúa, who on October 20, 1850, sold the subject tract to José Antonio de la Garza for $500 (Bexar County Deed Records I2:482–483; Ivey n.d.). However, it appears that José Antonio de la Garza was associated with the subject tract prior to this 1850 transaction as an 1841 document concerning the tract east of the subject tract (formerly belonging to Gertrudis Salinas) refers to the neighboring house, once occupied by the Delgado family, as "the house of

Antonio de la Garza" (Bexar County Probate Minutes C-Red: 73–76). Similarly, an 1847 survey and associated 1849 plat map produced by François Giraud, depicts the subject tract as de la Garza's property and describes it as the "two-story house of J.A. de la Garza," indicating that a second story was added to the structure sometime between 1835 and 1847 (Figure 6-5; Giraud 1847:16).

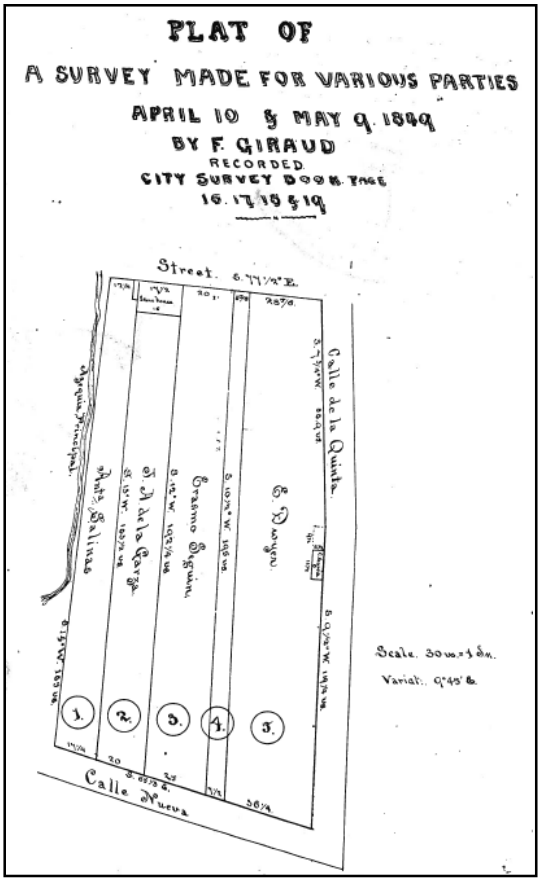

Figure 6-5: 1849 Giraud's survey plat map (Giraud 1849:16).

Figure 6-6: 1849 William G.M. Samuel painting, the de la Garza house is the two-story building on far south side of the Plaza (Samuel 1849a, Courtesy of the Witte Museum, San Antonio Texas).

José Antonio de la Garza [1776–1851] was the son of *Béxar* natives, Leonardo Hipolito de la Garza [1731–unknown] and Maria Magdalena Martinez [1735–1798], both of Spanish descent (Gibson 2014e). The de la Garza family is among the earliest known prominent families in *Béxar*, dating back to the initial settlement of the area (Chabot 1931:23). A 1782 opinion regarding ranching in *Béxar*, written by the asesor, Galindo Navarro, included the 1760 ranching "title documents" of both, Leonardo de la Garza and his brother, Joaquin de la Garza, suggesting that the de la Garza family was among *Béxar*'s earliest ranchers (Jackson 1986:164). According to the memoirs of José María Rodriguez, an early San Antonio resident, the de la Garza family had lived in a home on the corner of Acequia Street and Veramendi[24] Street for generations. Rodriguez states that "[Leonardo de la Garza] bought out the interests of his brothers and sisters to the residence in 1751 the year before he married Magdalena, and in turn, José Antonio bought all the interest in the homestead of his brothers and sisters the year he was married to

[24] José María Rodriguez may have been mistaken, as the de la Garza house that was originally built in 1734 by Gironomo de la Garza was located on present-day Houston Street between Main and Soledad Streets, 1 block north of the Main Plaza and where the Rand Building is presently located. This is the location where José Antonio de la Garza and his family lived and where his mint was located (Orozco 2010).

his second wife in 1824, or 73 years after the first purchase" (Rodriguez 1963:45). Rodriguez goes on to say that Antonio de la Garza "was supposed to be the largest land owner of any one here," with major holdings between the San Antonio River and Leon Creek, the north part of the city, including all of Breckenridge Park and Alamo Heights, and all of Mission Espada (Rodriguez 1963:45).

J.A. de la Garza's wealth is well represented throughout the archival record. He filed two petitions in 1818 for the return of his properties in both *Béxar* and La Bahia that were confiscated due to his rebel activities in 1813. In these requests he inventoried 8823.70 pesos and 1982.40 pesos of property confiscated from each estate (Garza 1818a). This is in addition to six *suerte*s (2,400 square *varas*) already returned to him in 1813 following a self-organized testimony to prove his loyalty to the Crown (Chabot 1941:143). Days after his 1818 petition, he received permission to coin 500 worth of copper jolas (half a real) to supply the city with income (Garza 1818b). However, it appears, J.A. de la Garza's wealth was not always appreciated. His 1813 testimony for the return of his six *suerte*s hinged on his assertion that Juan Manuel Sambrano confiscated de la Garza's property because Sambrano, "nourished hatred for de la Garza because he never would consent to sell to him his land" (Chabot 1941:134).

J.A. de la Garza was elected First Alcalde twice, in 1813 and 1832 (his first term was cut short by the 1813 rebellion), and appointed Second Alcade in both 1815 and 1819 (Benavides 1989). However, J.A. de la Garza was most politically active during the years of Mexico's independence. In 1825 he was appointed Depositario of public funds for the Department of Texas; in 1827 he was appointed State Tax Collector for *Béxar*, La Bahia, San Felipe de Austin, and Nacogdoches; he replaced Ramon Musquíz in the office of political chief during Musquíz's extended illness in 1832, and was elected a judge in 1835 (Benavides 1989). In August 1832 he announced the Junta General's support of Santa Anna's Plan de Zavaleta and Manuel Gomez Pedrazza's election as president of Mexico, and was one of *Béxar*'s officials to sign the articles resulting from the Convention of 1832 (Benavides 1989; Orozco 2010). Finally,

according to one source, J.A. de la Garza was suspected of supporting the Centralist's cause during the Texas War of Independence, a suspicion that may reflect the apparent resentment displayed towards de la Garza in 1813 and in 1818 (Orozco 2010).

J.A. de la Garza's personal life very much resembled his political and business careers. His first marriage was to 14-year-old Maria Joséfa Rivas (1799–1824) in 1813 (Gibson 2014e). She was the daughter of Captain Francisco Rivas and Maria Santos Coy, a family representing the union between Canary Island settlers and an old military family. His second marriage to Maria Joséfa Menchaca [between 1805 and 1809–unknown], daughter of Juan Menchaca and Margarita Cháves, occurred about six months after the death of his first wife 1824 (Gibson 2014e). Like his first marriage, his second wife's genealogy reads like a veritable who's who of *Béxar*'s history. Between the two wives, J.A. de la Garza fathered at least 16 children. Possibly because of his suspected support of the Centralist cause during the Texas War of Independence, José Antonio de la Garza and his family left San Antonio, and moved near Calaveras Lake in present-day southeast *Béxar* County (Orozco 2010). It was at this location that he died in 1851 (Orozco 2010).

J.A. de la Garza's 1851 probate awarded the subject tract (among other tracts) in undivided half interests to his sons, Joséph R. de la Garza and Leonardo de la Garza (Bexar County Probate Minutes D:282–287). Three years later, the subject tract appears again in Joséph R. de la Garza's probate. The record reveals that Joséph R. (José Rafael) de la Garza [between 1830 and 1851–1864] died fighting for the Confederacy during the Battle of Mansfield near Shreveport, Louisiana on April 8, 1864 (Bexar County Probate Minutes No. 702; Gibson 2014e). In place of a formal will, his sisters, Elena de la Garza Yturri and Carolina A. De Witt provided testimony regarding J.R. de la Garza's last wishes and presented evidence in the form an 1863 letter the deceased had sent. In this letter J.R. de la Garza wrote: "Tell my mother not to worry herself about me, for whatever I have is for her" (Bexar County Probate Minutes No. 702). The

court accepted the testimony and evidence, and in 1865, his mother, Joséfa Menchaca de la Garza was named administratrix of her son's estate (Bexar County Probate Minutes No. 702). In J.R. de la Garza's probate is an inventory of all his property, which included the "one undivided half interest in a house and lot in San Antonio on the south side of main Plaza running back south to a new street [Nueva Street] near James France's residence, valued at $5000.00" (Bexar County Probate Minutes No. 702; Added Nueva Street for clarification). The description does not indicate if anyone was occupying the house when J.R. de la Garza died. However, the full value of the house, $10,000, suggests that the two-story home was impressive.

After receiving the house and lot in 1865, Joséfa Menchaca transferred this property (among other properties) *in futuro* to her son Leonardo de la Garza (BCDR U-1:22–24). Leonardo de la Garza officially received this property, and many others including the historic de la Garza home on the corner of Veramendi Street and Acequia Street, on February 2, 1871 (BCDR W-2:13–14). By 1871, Leonardo de la Garza [1844–unknown] was a Williams College (Massachusetts) graduate married to Antonia Carolina Callaghan [1850–unknown], sister of Bryan Callaghan Jr., who was a San Antonio politician and mayor from 1885 to 1892, 1887 to 1889, and 1905 to 1912 (Doyle 2009; Orozco 2010). Leonardo inherited numerous properties in the 1860s, and was very active in the real estate market in the following decades, so much so that in the 1880 *Béxar* County Census he was listed as a real estate agent. In one of his various land dealings involving the subject tract, Leonardo de la Garza used the property as collateral in a business deal with his brother-in-law, Bryan Callaghan on August 16, 1869 (BCDR T-3:419–420). This record is significant because J.G. Hardin is listed as occupying the property in this transaction, and although a census search failed to locate any individual with this name, the record suggests that the de la Garza family did not occupy the house at that time (BCDR T-3:419–420).

Leonardo received full rights to the tract in February of 1871, and sold the south half of the subject tract to W.A. Bennett for "2500 gold dollars" in April (BCDR W-1:566–567). Immediately following this transaction Leonardo and Bennett filed an agreement to allow Leonardo, "his descendants (and his mother conditioned aforesaid) and his and their servants, and tenants," access to his property from Nueva Street via a 12-foot strip of land along the west side of the property previously conveyed to Bennett, further indicating that tenants were living in the two-story house on the south side of the Main Plaza by the early 1870s (BCDR W-1:567–568).

An 1874 transaction involving a horse stable property east of the subject tract refers to the two-story de la Garza house as "the Hotel or Tavern known as the Baker House" (BCDR X2:277). The description of these adjoining properties in this transaction correlate to Antonio Menchaca's memoirs which places the "Central Hotel kept by Mr. Baker" or "Baker's Central Hotel" directly west of the livery stable located on the tract that was previously the residence of Bartolo Seguin (see Figure 6-5, Lot 3, property of Erasmo Seguin; Matovina et al. 2013:110;). This is the first mention in the archival record of the property being used as a hotel or boarding house, and later in the nineteenth century, the establishment added a third story and became known as the St. Leonard Hotel. Evidence suggests that it remained the St. Leonard until 1900 when Carolina Callaghan de la Garza and her husband conveyed the tract to George W. Burkitt for $15,000 (BCDR 107:209). This transaction ended nearly 170 years of ownership of the subject tract by individuals descended from original *Béxar* settlers.

2007 SAL-Eligibility Testing and Mitigation

Consultation with the City's Office of Historic Preservation and the Texas Historical Commission subsequent to locating SMF 1 determined that SAL-eligibility testing was required at 41BX1753 to evaluate the remaining features and ascertain the necessity for data recovery. Survey-level investigations at 41BX1753 indicated that SMF 2 was a large basin-shaped stratified deposit that

extended both below natural subsoil and into the west wall of the storm water drain trench and contained artifacts dating to the Spanish Colonial and Mexican Periods (1780s–1840s). SAL-eligibility testing of SMF 2 consisted of the excavation of two units beginning with Unit 3, a 100 x 30-cm unit that tested the southern portion of SMF 2 undisturbed by mechanical excavation. We excavated Unit 3 from the approximate top of SMF 2 (65 cmbd or approximately 90 cmbs) to the depth (140 cmbd or 165 cmbs) at which point mechanical excavation bisected and partially excavated SMF 2 during the survey effort. We then placed Unit 5, a 110 x 100-cm unit, directly north of Unit 3 at a depth approximately corresponding with the bottom of Unit 3 (60 cmbd or 165 cmbs), and excavated Unit 5 to a depth of 210 cmbd (270 cmbs), creating a stepped profile of SMF 2 on the south wall of the storm water drain trench (Figure 6-7). Unit 3 and Unit 5 were excavated according to two different datums: the Unit 3 datum was placed at approximately 25 cmbs and the Unit 5 datum was placed at 60 cmbs.

Figure 6-7: Fully excavated Units 3 and 5, facing southwest.

Unit 3

As indicated above, Unit 3 was oriented along the edge of the undisturbed portion of SMF 2 along the west wall of the storm water drain trench, and tested a 30-cm (north–south) column that spanned the width of the feature (100 cm east–west). Although the exposed profile revealed evidence of a basin-shaped stratified deposit, we excavated Unit 3 in eight arbitrary 10-cm levels to a depth of 140 cmbd (165 cmbs). Excavation revealed successive zones of clay loam and charcoal lenses representing a basin-shaped deposit within a hand-dug pit (Figure 6-8). The eastern limits of SMF 2 were defined by the presence of marl subsoil along the eastern edge of Unit 3, indicating that the pit feature was originally excavated through subsoil.

Figure 6-8: Unit 3 south wall profile.

As suggested, we did not excavate Unit 3 according to the stratified deposit. Field observations suggested that there were little to no differences in artifact types or frequencies between the deposits, and in general artifacts were fairly scarce, consisting primarily of small fragments of animal bone. Table 6-1 presents the artifact types recovered from each level of Unit 3, and indicates that 82.8 percent of the Unit 3 assemblage is faunal bone (n = 453). The Unit 3 collection is domestic in nature, with ceramics (n = 40) being the most common nonbone artifact type and constituting 42.6 percent of the nonbone collection, but only 7.3 percent of the total collection. Of the 40 ceramic sherds recovered from Unit 3, 57.5 percent are of English origin (n = 23), 27.5 percent are Spanish Colonial wares (n = 11), and the other 15 percent are locally made Goliad Ware (n = 6). Figure 6-9 depicts the number of artifacts and bone

recovered from each level, indicating an even distribution of artifacts and bone between deposits and a low density of artifacts in general, with 418 artifacts and 2,013.3 animal bones per m^3.

Table 6-1: Count of Artifacts Recovered from Unit 3

Level (cmbd)	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial Ceramics	English Ceramics	Metal	Glass	Lithics	Building Materials	FCR	Other	Total	Bone
1 and 2 (65–80)	1	3	3	3	1	2	0	0	0	13	19
3 (80–90)	2	4	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	12	87
4 (90–100)	1	1	5	0	4	1	0	2	2	16	47
5 (100–110)	0	1	2	1	0	1	3	0	1	9	65
6 (110–120)	0	0	0	3	0	1	2	0	2	8	44
7 (120–130)	1	2	4	3	0	0	4	0	0	14	81
8 (130–140)	1	0	6	1	0	3	4	3	4	22	110
Total	6	11	23	13	5	9	13	5	9	94	453

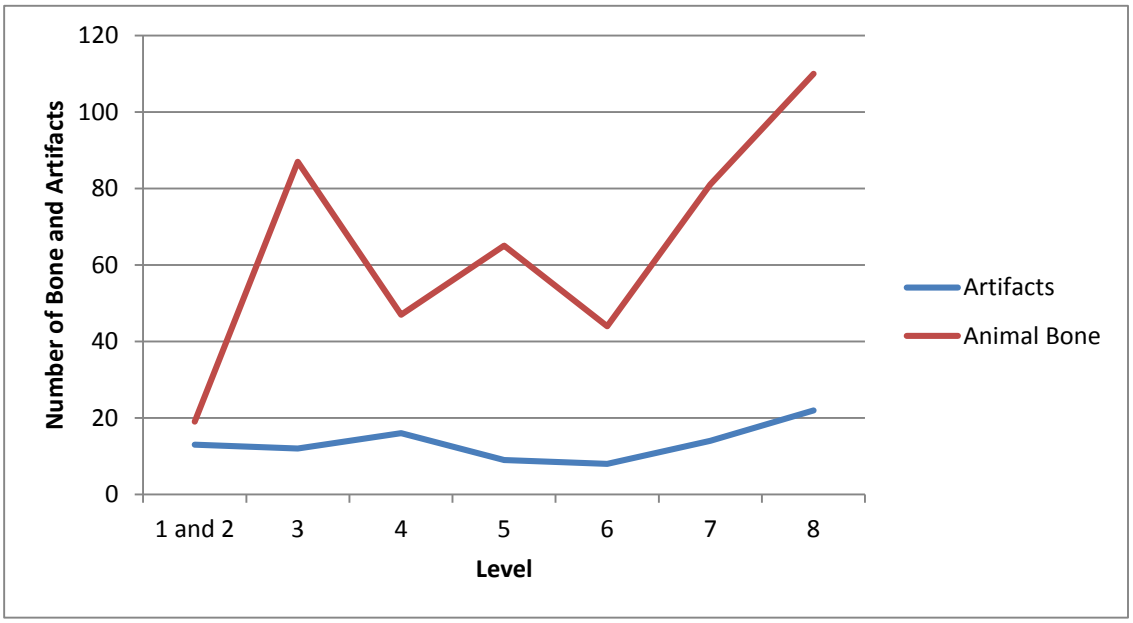

Figure 6-9: Density of nonfaunal bone artifacts and faunal bone in Unit 3.

Unit 5

Unit 5 was placed directly north of Unit 3 and along the west wall of the storm water drain trench over a portion of SMF 2, and measured 110 cm north–south by 100 cm east–west. We established the Unit 5 datum at 60 cmbs and excavated Unit 5 in arbitrary 10-cm levels to a depth of 210 cmbd (270 cmbs),

or approximately 105 cm below where archaeologists terminated Unit 3 excavation. Excavation revealed a deposit displaying the same basin shape recognized in Unit 3, with at least five distinct strata, ranging between 25 and 40 cm at their greatest vertical thickness, with each strata tapering up towards the east (Figure 6-10 and Figure 6-11). We encountered marl subsoil along the north edge of the unit at approximately 145 cmbd (205 cmbs), a feature that persisted until excavation was terminated at 210 cmbd (270 cmbs), and also defined the northern extent of SMF 2 (Figure 6-12 and Figure 6-13). Excavation of Units 3 and 5 indicates that SMF 2 most likely represents a hand-dug cistern dating to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and is probably associated with the Delgado family's occupation of the property.

Figure 6-10: Unit 5 south wall profile.

Figure 6-11: Units 3 and 5 south wall profile.

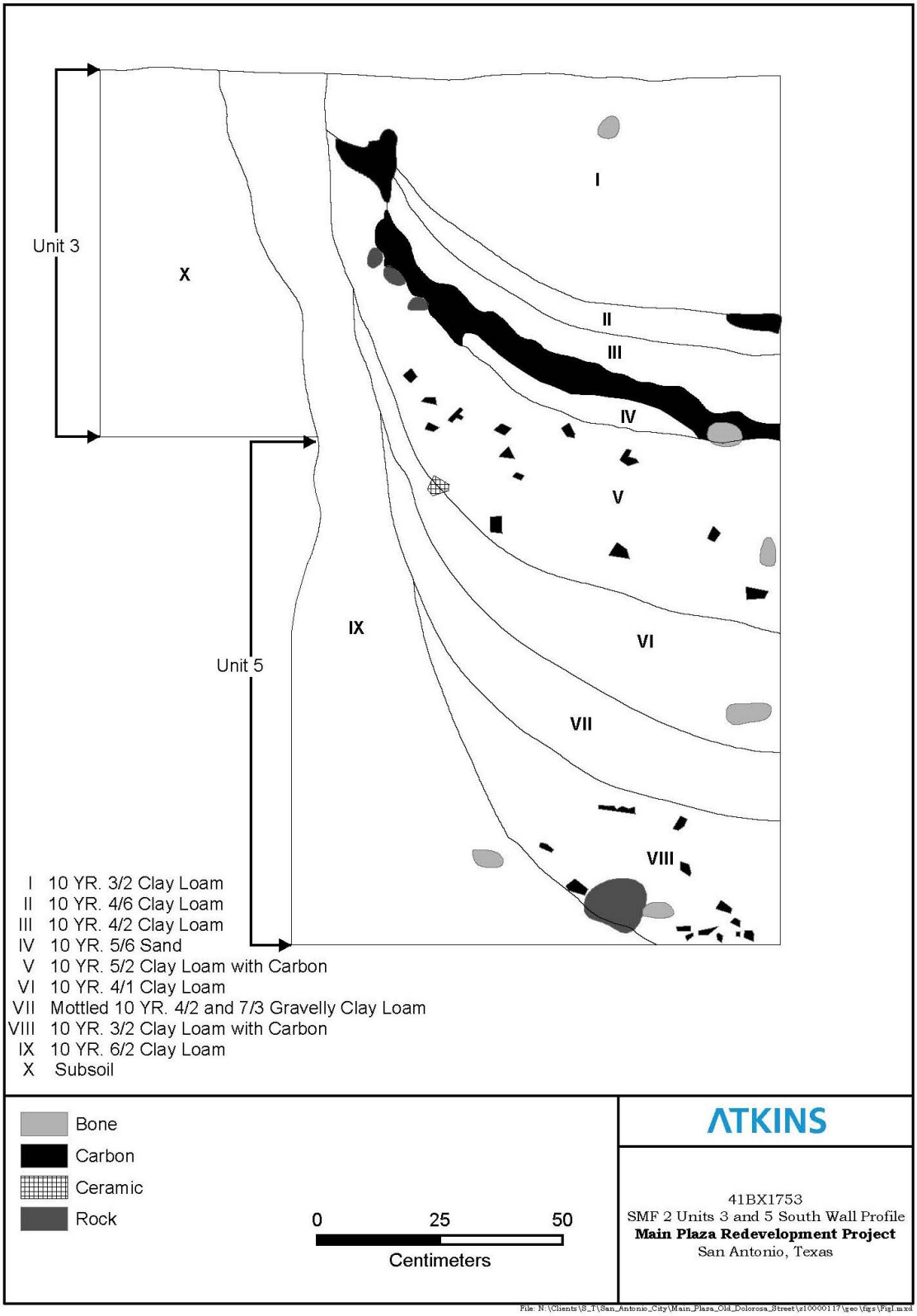

Figure 6-12: SMF 2 Units 3 and 5 south wall profile (Hanson 2016: 162).

Figure 6-13: Units 3 and 5, west wall profile.

As with Unit 3, we did not collect artifacts from Unit 5 according to the stratified deposits. However, as Table 6-2 and Figure 6-14 indicate, there was a general increase in artifacts and faunal bone recovered per level, with the highest frequencies of each in Levels 7–12, followed by a slight decrease in Levels 13 and 14. The artifacts recovered from Unit 5 are similar to those recovered in Unit 3 and are primarily domestic, with animal bone (n = 2,607) constituting 75.5 percent of the collection and ceramics (n = 357) making up 10.3 percent of all materials recovered from Unit 5 and 42.1 percent of all nonbone artifacts. Unit 5 had a higher density of artifacts and faunal material than Unit 3, with 504 artifacts and 1,559.2 animal bones per m^3.

Table 6-2: Count of Artifacts Recovered from Unit 5												
Level (cmbd)	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial Ceramics	English Ceramics	Metal	Glass	Lithics	Building Materials	FCR	Mussel Shell	Other	Total	Bone
1 (58–80)	0	1	3	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	9	46
2 (80–90)	1	11	6	6	2	9	6	0	2	5	48	179
3 (90–100)	2	7	5	6	5	8	5	2	2	6	48	113
4 (100–110)	2	16	10	7	2	3	4	2	0	2	48	167
5 (110–120)	2	13	4	24	1	1	16	0	1	9	71	239
6 (120–130)	3	17	2	2	1	3	19	1	3	6	57	209
7 (130–140)	6	19	11	3	5	6	11	4	5	16	86	288
8 (140–150)	3	15	8	6	2	0	5	8	0	5	52	198
9 (150–160)	6	32	2	1	0	1	18	0	0	13	73	144
10 (1 60–170)	8	20	8	10	2	7	16	3	8	6	88	311
11 (170–180)	6	23	9	9	3	6	6	3	3	10	78	188
12 (180–190)	5	28	7	2	7	6	16	1	6	9	87	239
13 (190–200)	3	11	5	8	2	3	13	0	3	11	59	174
14 (200–210)	2	13	2	1	0	3	17	0	1	4	43	112
Total	49	226	82	89	32	56	152	25	34	102	847	2,607

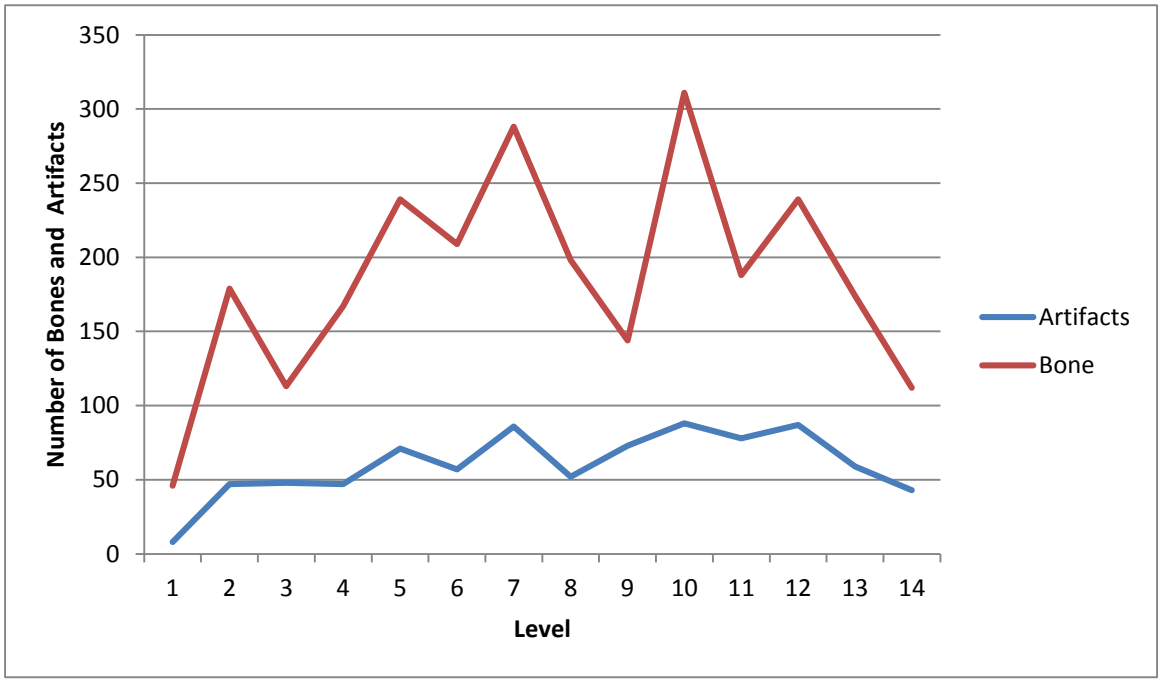

Figure 6-14: Density of nonfaunal bone artifacts in Unit 5.

SAL testing investigations at 41BX1753 indicated that SMF 2 represented intact cultural features that pre-dated 1865, and as such, the THC and OHP determined that the features were significant deposits and warranted mitigation, since they could not be avoided by construction activities. The data recovery effort at SMF 2 included the excavation of a single shovel test at the southwest corner of Unit 5 to investigate the depth of SMF 2. Once excavation was completed, the unexcavated portion of SMF 2 was mechanically removed during the installation of the storm water drain and taken off-site, where we water-screened the soils and collected a total of 3,465 artifacts.

Mitigation Unit 5 Shovel Test

We placed the SMF 2 shovel test at the southwest corner of Unit 5 (210 cm below Unit 5 datum or 270 cmbs), and excavated six arbitrary 10-cm levels to a depth of 270 cmbd (330 cmbs). Excavation revealed a zone of grayish brown (10YR 5/2) clay loam over a homogenous zone of very dark gray (10YR 3/1) clay loam extending from 280 cmbs to 315 cmbs. This zone sat above a 15-cm thick zone of dark brown (10YR 3/3) clay loam mottled with very dark gray (10YR 3/3) and light gray (10YR 7/1) clay loam. At this point, we were forced to stop excavation of the SMF 2/Unit 5 shovel test due to safety concerns and because the shovel test was well below the storm water drain's depth of impact.

Table 6-3 displays the artifact types recovered from the Unit 5 shovel test, and reveals an assemblage similar to the assemblages from Units 3 and 5. Animal bone makes up 89 percent of the collection and includes a number of very large *Bos taurus* specimens including a complete right metacarpus, the distal ends of a left metacarpus and a left metatarsus, and the proximal end of the right humerus, all recovered within the zone of very dark gray (10YR 3/1) clay loam. The shovel test revealed a portion of SMF 2 with a much higher density of animal bone, with 3,888.9 bones per m^3, but an artifact density of 481.5 artifacts per m^3, almost identical to Unit 3 and actually lower than Unit 5.

Table 6-3: SMF 2/Unit 5 Shovel Test										
Level	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial Ceramics	English Ceramics	Metal	Glass	Lithics	Building Materials	Mussel Shell	Total	Bonel
1–6 (210–270 cmbs)	6	6	7	2	1	1	2	1	26	210

The nonbone artifact assemblage recovered from the Unit 5 shovel test is primarily composed of ceramics (n = 19), making up 73 percent of the collection. Proportions of ceramic type according to origin are almost equal with 31.5 percent Goliad Ware and Spanish Colonial wares and 37 percent English wares. The ceramic assemblage includes two sherds of Scalloped Edgeware impressed with straight lines found in Level 1 (270–280 cmbs) and Level 4 (300–310 cmbs) that date to a period between 1809 and 1831.

Mitigation Bulk Removal of SMF 2

We concluded the data recovery fieldwork at 41BX1753 on October 19, 2007, and requested clearance from the THC for construction of the storm water drain at 41BX1753 on October 23, 2007. The THC concurred under the condition that the contractors mechanically remove the remaining portion of SMF 2 within the storm water drain trench and transport the feature fill off-site to be water-screened. Table 6-4 provides a breakdown of the artifact types collected and reveals that, like the Unit 3 and 5 collections, the bulk removal assemblage has a high proportion of animal bone (72 percent n = 2,486), with ceramics (n = 431) making up 12.4 percent of the entire collection and 43.4 percent of the nonbone collection. Analysis determined that 37.1 percent of the assemblage is of English origin (n = 160), 51.3 percent of the SMF 2 ceramics are Spanish Colonial wares (n = 221), and 11.6 percent are locally produced Goliad Ware (n = 50).

Table 6-4: SMF 2 Bulk Collection Artifact Types															
Feature	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial	English Ceramics	Metal	Glass	Lithics	Building Materials	Beads	Bone Buttons	FCR	Mussel Shell	Charcoal	Other	Bone	Total
SMF 2	50	221	160	207	79	55	20	0	2	17	36	108	24	2,486	3,465

Bulk removal of the portion of SMF 2 within the storm water drain footprint also exposed a profile of the feature on the west wall of the excavated trench. As Figure 6-15 and Figure 6-16 display, SMF 2 was a deeply stratified, basin-shaped feature approximately 3 m wide and at least 2 m deep. The feature was composed of seven successive deposits of clay loam measuring between 20 and 50 cm thick and interspersed with a thin sandy deposit (Zone IV) and three prominent charcoal stains. These successive deposits were below a homogenous zone of very dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2) clay loam (Zone I) that was disturbed by previous road improvements along its upper boundary, but still measured almost a meter thick. The shape and composition of SMF 2 suggest that the feature represents the bottom of a cistern, with the successively stratified zones representing gradual accumulation and other depositional events at the bottom of the hand-excavated pit, and Zone I representing a single filling episode of that pit with the naturally occurring, very dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2) clay loam. This filled-in feature was later disturbed by an unknown improvement project most likely associated with the paving of South Main Street.

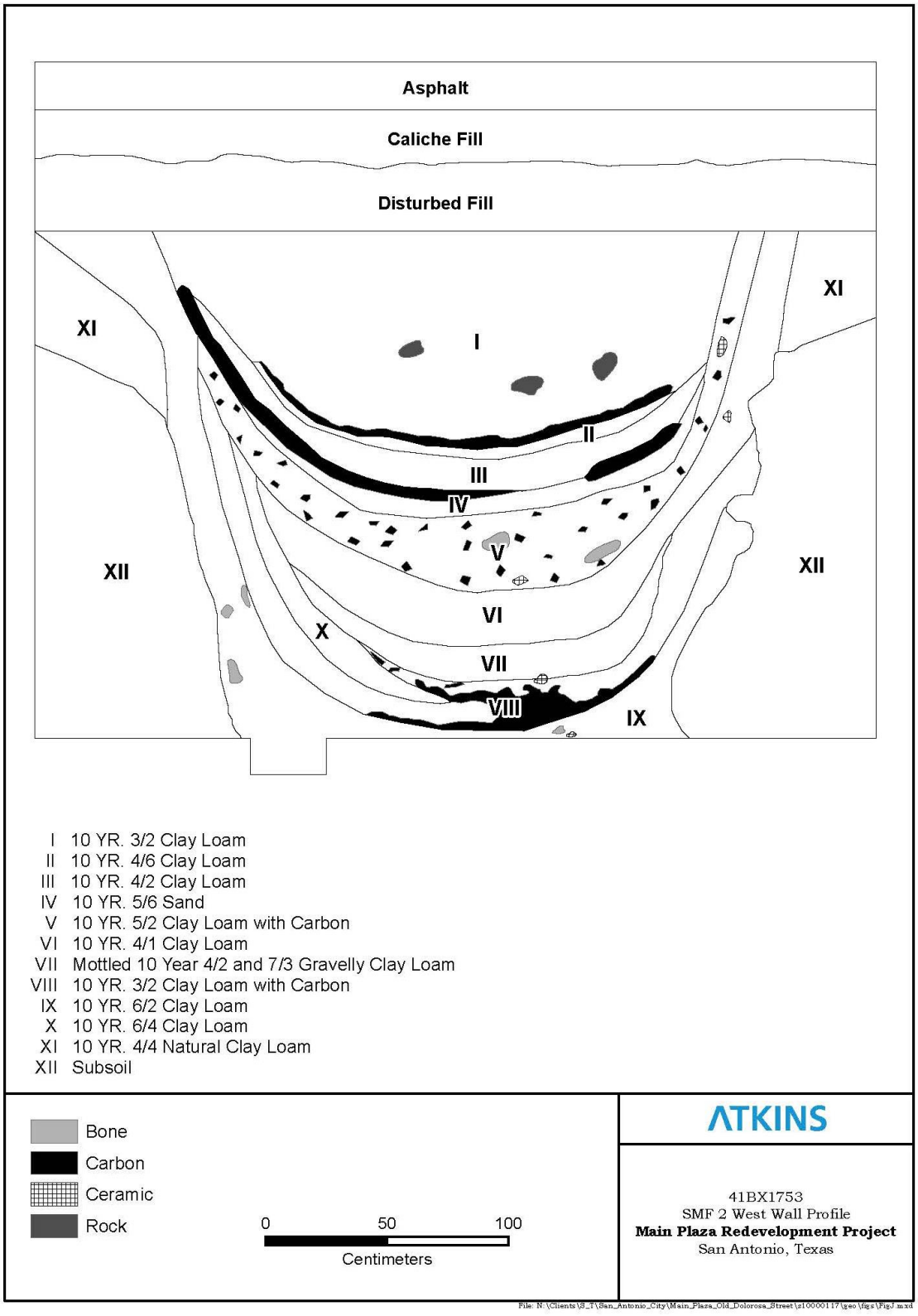

Figure 6-15: SMF 2, west wall profile (Hanson 2016: 185).

Figure 6-16: SMF 2 west wall profile after storm water drain excavation.

Artifacts

Excavation of Units 3 and 5 and the mechanical removal of SMF 2 resulted in the recovery of 5,827 faunal specimens and 1,863 artifacts comprising 75.8 and 24.2 percent of the total collection respectively. Items categorized as Kitchen artifacts (n= 898), comprise 48.2 percent of the nonbone artifact types recovered from the feature with ceramics (n=838) making up 93.3 percent of all Kitchen artifacts. Artifacts with indeterminate functions (n=552; 29.6 percent) comprise the second most common artifact category of the nonbone collection while Architectural (n=213) and Activity (n=168) related items make up 11.4 and 9.0 percent of the nonbone collection. Artifacts categorized as Household, Personal, Monetary, and Armament related items each make up less than one percent of the nonbone collection.

Kitchen

Artifacts functionally categorized as Kitchen artifacts (n = 898) compose over 48.2 percent of the nonbone artifacts recovered from SMF 2. Included in this count are most of the ceramic assemblage (n = 838), bottle glass (n = 59), and drinking glass fragments (n = 3).

Ceramics

The ceramic kitchen assemblage consists of 838 ceramic sherds, of which 31.5 percent are of English origin (n = 268), 55.3 percent are Spanish Colonial wares (n = 460), and 13.2 percent are Goliad Ware sherds (n = 110). Table 6-5 provides a list of the 55 distinct ceramic types collected from SMF 2, along with the types' place of origin, production date ranges, median production date, and a sherd count for each type.

Table 6-5: 41BX1753 SMF 2 Ceramic Types

Type	Origin	Date Range*	Median Date	Count
Creamware, Undecorated	English	1762–1820	1791	15
Annularware (Pearlware), Banded	English	1785–1840	1812.5	15
Annularware (Pearlware), Cabled	English	1782–1820	1801	2
Annularware (Pearlware), Indeterminate	English	1780–1840	1810	1
Annularware (Pearlware), Marbleized	English	1782–1820	1801	2
Annularware (Indeterminate Refined Earthernware), Banded	English	1785–1840	1812.5	8
Annularware (Indeterminate Refined Earthernware), Cabled	English	1790–1820	1805	1
Annularware (Indeterminate Refined Earthernware), Indeterminate	English	1782–1840	1811	1
Edgeware, Scalloped Rim, Impressed "Bud" Design	English	1813–1834	1823.5	1
Edgeware, Scalloped Rim, Impressed Curved Lines	English	1802–1832	1817	7
Edgeware, Scalloped Rim, Impressed Straight Lines	English	1809–1831	1820	19
Edgeware, Scalloped Rim, Painted Lines	English	1785–1840	1812.5	1
Edgeware, Embossed Patterns (Scalloped & Unscalloped Rim)	English	1823–1835	1829	2
Pearlware, Hand painted Blue and White	English	1775–1840	1807.5	36
Pearlware, Hand painted Polychrome, Early	English	1795–1820	1807.5	34

Table 6-5: 41BX1753 SMF 2 Ceramic Types Continued.

Type	Origin	Date Range*	Median Date	Count
Pearlware, Hand painted Polychrome, Late	English	1830–1840	1835	7
Pearlware, Sponged or Spattered	English	1770–1830	1800	1
Pearlware, Transfer Printed, Blue	English	1784–1840	1812	34
Pearlware, Transfer Printed, Dark Blue	English	1818–1830	1824	1
Pearlware, Undecorated	English	1780–1840	1810	63
Porcelain	English	1720–1850	1785	1
Stoneware, Indeterminate	English/American	1820–1900	1860	1
Stoneware, Salt Glazed	English/American	1800–1900	1850	1
Goliad Ware	Native	1720–1820	1770	110
Whiteware, Hand painted	English	1830–1900	1865	4
Whiteware, Molded	English	1856–1900	1878	1
Whiteware, Overglazed	English	1870–1900	1885	1
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Black	English	1830–1850	1840	1
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Flow Blue	English	1840–1860	1850	1
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Purple	English	1829–1860	1845	2
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Red	English	1829–1850	1840	2
Whiteware, Undecorated	English	1830–1900	1865	8
Burnished Coarse Earthenware, Indeterminate	Spanish Colonial	1720–1850	1785	7
Coarse Earthenware, Indeterminate	Spanish Colonial	1720–1850	1785	37
Lead-Glazed Ware, Dark Brown	Spanish Colonial	1750–1830	1790	14
Lead-Glazed Ware, Galera Polychrome	Spanish Colonial	1725–1850	1787.5	31
Lead-Glazed Ware, Indeterminate Fine Paste	Spanish Colonial	1720–1850	1785	4
Lead-Glazed Ware, Red Brown	Spanish Colonial	1700–1800	1750	19
Lead-Glazed Ware, Smooth Brown	Spanish Colonial	1775–1830	1802.5	28
Lead-Glazed Ware, Yellow and Green Glaze I	Spanish Colonial	1700–1800	1750	44
Lead-Glazed Ware, Yellow and Green Glaze II	Spanish Colonial	1700–1800	1750	52
Majolica, Green on Cream	Spanish Colonial	1540–1775	1657.5	1
Majolica, Guanajuato Polychrome	Spanish Colonial	1800–1850	1825	8
Majolica, Huejotzingo Wavy Rim	Spanish Colonial	1775–1825	1800	1
Majolica, Indeterminate Decorated	Spanish Colonial	1720–1850	1785	24
Majolica, Molded	Spanish Colonial	1720–1850	1785	1
Majolica, Monterey Polychrome	Spanish Colonial	1775–1830	1802.5	12
Majolica, Puebla Blue on White	Spanish Colonial	1650–1830	1740	31
Majolica, San Elizario Polychrome	Spanish Colonial	1750–1850	1800	5
Majolica, Tumacacori Polychrome	Spanish Colonial	1810–1860	1835	2
Majolica, Undecorated	Spanish Colonial	1720–1850	1785	73
Red Burnished Ware	Spanish Colonial	1725–1800	1762.5	2
Spanish Olive Jar	Spanish Colonial	1800–1900	1850	1
Tonalá Burnished Ware	Spanish Colonial	1720–1810	1765	61
Total				**838**

* Date ranges for Spanish Colonial wares are from Fox and Ulrich (2008); Goliad Ware dates are from Fox (1992:46) and Figueroa and Mauldin (2005:93); dates for English wares are from Florida Museum of Natural History (2008).

Spanish Colonial ceramics (n = 461, 55.3 percent) compose the majority of the ceramic assemblage and are organized into 22 different ceramic types, including seven types of lead-glazed wares, 10 types of majolica, and five types of coarse earthenware. Lead-glazed wares (n = 194) are the most common type in the collection, constituting 42.1 percent of the Spanish Colonial ceramics. Unlike the 41BX179 collection that primarily contained sandy paste lead-glaze wares, the SMF 2 lead-glazed ware collection contains evidence of fine (n = 96) and sandy paste (n = 98) wares in nearly equal proportions. Fine paste lead-glazed specimens include sherds of Galera Polychrome (n = 31), Smooth Brown (n = 28), Red Brown (n = 19), Dark Brown (n = 14), and Indeterminate (n = 4, Figure 6-17a). Yellow and Green Glaze (n = 98) ceramics make up the sandy paste ceramics in the collection and the sherds can generally be divided into thicker (n = 44) and thinner (n = 54) vessels (Figure 6-17b).

Figure 6-17: Spanish Colonial ceramics from SMF 2 at 41BX1753. (A) Fine paste lead-glazed Galera Polychrome from Unit 5, Level 5 (Cat. No. 63-8), Unit 5, Level 6 (Cat. No. 64-8), and Unit 5, Level 7 (Cat. Nos. 65-21 and 65-26). (B) Sandy paste lead-glazed Yellow and Green Glaze I from the bulk collection of SMF 2 (Cat. No. 85-132).

Majolica sherds (n = 160) account for 34.7 percent of the Spanish Colonial assemblage and are primarily undecorated samples (n = 73) or are decorated sherds too small to determine a specific decorated type (n = 23). The decorated majolica types in the collection appear to be later than those recovered at 41BX179. Puebla Blue on White (n = 31) is the most frequent type in the collection (Figure 6-18a), although all other types in the collection date to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries

including various blue on white majolicas (San Elizario Polychrome, n = 5 and Huejotzingo Wavy Rim Band, n = 1), Aranama Polychrome Tradition types (Monterey Polychrome, n = 12, [Figure 6-18b]), and distinctly nineteenth-century types (Guanajuato Polychrome, n = 8 [Figure 6-18c], and Tumacacori Polychrome, n = 2).

Figure 6-18: Decorated majolica sherds from SMF 2 at 41BX1753. (A) Puebla Blue on White II from Unit 5, Level 13 (Cat. No. 71-15). (B) Monterey Polychrome from Unit 5, Level 11 (Cat. No. 69-3). (C) Guanajuato Polychrome from Unit 5, Level 3 (Cat. No. 61-10).

Overall, unglazed coarse earthenwares (n = 218) constitute 26.2 percent of the total ceramic assemblage. Of these unglazed coarse earthenwares, 12.8 percent (n = 107) are classified as Spanish Colonial in origin. Three types produced in Mexico are found in the collection and include Tonalá Burnished Ware (n = 60; Figure 6-19a), Red Burnished Ware (n = 2), and Spanish Storage Jar (n = 1, Figure 6-19). Unlike the 41BX179 collection, sherds of Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware (n = 44) only make up a little over five percent of the total ceramic assemblage and less than ten percent of the Spanish Colonial ceramics. Like the 41BX179 collection, these samples display tremendous variation and the assemblage includes sherds with burnished exteriors (n = 7) and two joining sherds from a handled pot with an incised interior (Figure 6-19b). The majority of the Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware are very small, undecorated sherds (n = 36) that offer little insight into vessel type, with the exception of two small legs likely from a ceramic mortar or similar vessel.

Figure 6-19: Unglazed coarse earthenwares from SMF 2 at 41BX1753. (A) Tonalá Burnished ware from Unit 5, Level 4 (Cat. No. 62-30); Unit 5, Level 7 (Cat. No. 65-18); Unit 5, Level 11 (Cat. No. 69-4); and Unit 5, Level 12 (Cat. Nos. 70-24 and 70-25); and two sherds from the bulk collection of SMF 2 (Cat. Nos. 85-330 and 85-353). (B) Incised Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware from Unit 5, Level 6 (Cat. No. 64-18) and Unit 5, Level 9 (Cat. No. 67-14).

The majority of unglazed coarse earthenware sherds in the collection are from Goliad Ware (n = 110), or locally made bone tempered ceramics, which account for 13.2 percent of the total assemblage. Like the 41BX179 collection, these sherds are typically very small and display significant variation in the amount of bone temper, paste types, and vessel color, but probably represent water jugs and other utilitarian vessels (Figure 6-20).

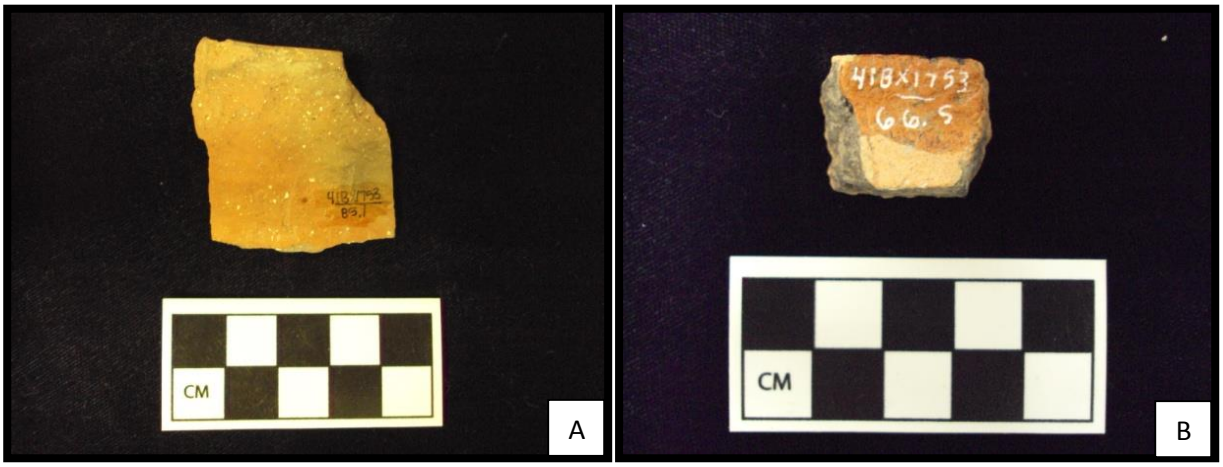

Figure 6-20: Goliad ware from SMF 2 at 41BX1753. (A) Bulk collection, Cat. No. 85-1. (B) Unit 5, Level 8, Cat. No. 66-5.

Ceramics of English or American origin (n = 262) account for 31.5 percent of the assemblage and can be categorized into 32 different types of refined earthenware, including various annularwares (n = 31), edgewares (n = 21), hand-painted and sponged wares (n = 82), transfer-printed wares (n = 40), stonewares (n = 2), and undecorated whitewares (n = 82, Figure 6-21). The SMF 2 collection is comprised of nearly equal proportions of inexpensive refined earthenwares (undecorated white earthenwares, edgewares, and annularware, n = 137, 51.3 percent of English wares) to more expensive and refined earthenwares (hand painted, transfer printed, and porcelain, n = 129, 48.3 percent of English wares). In general, the English ceramics sherds are very small, but mostly represent tableware and tea sets, with annularwares (n = 31) and stonewares (n = 2) representing utilitarian wares.

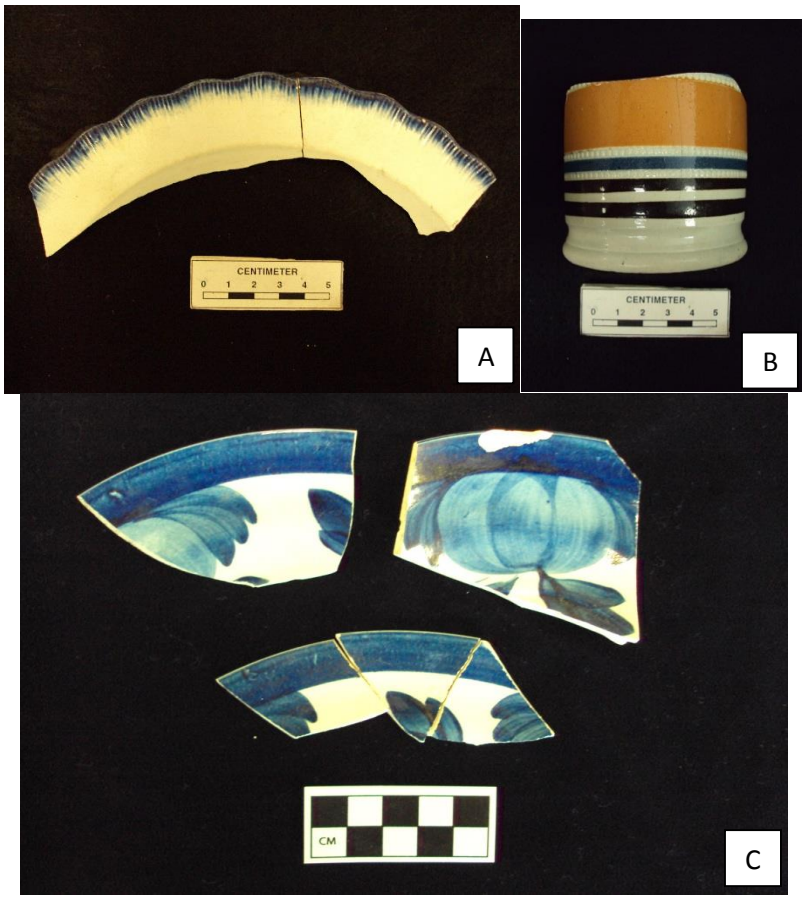

Figure 6-21: Refined earthenwares from the bulk collection of SMF 2 at 41BX1753. (A) Edgeware on pearlware with scalloped rim and impressed straight lines, Cat. No. 85-311. (B) Banded Annularware, Cat. No. 85-324. (C) Hand painted Blue and White pearlware, Cat. Nos. 85-278 and 85-279.

Glass

Glass artifacts categorized as “kitchen” items (n = 62) constitute 53 percent of all glass artifacts recovered from SMF 2. Bottle glass (n = 59) is the most frequent kitchen glass artifact type found in the collection and includes evidence of olive-colored beverage bottles (n = 44) aqua-colored pharmaceutical bottles (n = 9), and indeterminate aqua (n = 3), colorless (n = 2), and amber (n = 2) colored bottles. While the majority of the bottle glass displays no diagnostic features beyond color, evidence of formation processes include free-blown bottles (n = 9, 1720–1850) and bottles made with two-piece molds (n = 2, 1810–1870; Lindsey 2010). One of the specimens in the collection with evidence of a two-piece mold was recovered from Unit 5 and is a fairly complete, small, aqua-colored, pharmaceutical bottle with a rolled finish indicating that it dates to a period before 1870 (ibid.). The other two-piece mold specimen is a complete, aqua-colored pharmaceutical bottle with a tooled bead type finish indicative of a production date sometime after 1870. However, this bottle was collected in the bulk removal of SMF 2 and may be associated with the adjacent SMF 3.

The three other kitchen-related glass artifacts were also recovered from the SMF 2 bulk removal and are the bases of three stemmed drinking glasses, only one of which displays evidence of a mold and a hexagonal stem.

Household

Household artifacts (n = 15) constitute less than one percent of the nonbone artifacts and include one cuprous candlestick holder, the distal end of scissor-shaped candlesnuffer, a cuprous upholstery tack, three indeterminate cuprous decorative pieces, and lantern glass (n = 6; Figure 6-22).

Figure 6-22: Household artifacts recovered from SMF 2 at 41BX1753. (A) Cuprous candleholder found in Unit 5, Level 12, Cat. No. 70-49. (B) End of a "scissor-like" candlesnuffer found in the bulk collection, Cat. No. 85-638.

Personal/Clothing

Artifacts identified as personal/clothing items (n = 14) make up less than one percent of the nonbone assemblage and include objects made of bone (n = 9), metal (n = 4), and ceramic (n = 1).

Ceramic

One undecorated ceramic pipe stem was recovered from Unit 3, Level 5 (100–110 cmbd).

Metal

Clothing-related metal artifacts include three medium-to-large buttons among which there is a cuprous flat disc button with an alpha shank, a cast, one-piece, domed, cuprous button with an alpha shank, and a cast, two-piece, domed, cuprous button with a missing shank (Figure 6-23). Alpha shanks were common throughout the eighteenth century and, in general, were replaced by omega shanks in the early nineteenth century (White 2005:64). A single ferrous pin backing was also recovered from the bulk removal of SMF 2.

Figure 6-23: Brass buttons recovered from the bulk collection of SMF 2 at 41BX1753.
Left: Cat. No. 85-637; center: Cat. No. 85-635; right: Cat. No. 85-636.

Bone

Clothing-related bone artifacts include three medium-to-large buttons, of which two are single-hole blanks (n = 2) and the other is a five-hole sew through button with a carved circle around the center hole and two thinner circles carved around the outer four holes (Figure 6-24). Cut bone buttons were widely produced and used on all types of clothing from underwear to coats throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but fell out of use between 1830 and 1850 (Olson 1963). Personal items made of bone include a flat-handled and a round-handled carved bone toothbrush, evidence of a carved, double-sided, fine-toothed comb (n = 2), and two indeterminate decorative pieces.

Figure 6-24: Bone buttons from SMF 2 at 41BX1753. (Left) Five-hole button from Unit 5, Level 13, Cat. No. 71-22. (Center and Right) Single-hole button blanks from the bulk collection, Cat. Nos. 85-483 and 85-484.

Activity

The activity group consists of 168 artifacts (9 percent of nonbone collection), of which the majority are fire-cracked rocks (n = 95) and chert flakes (n = 72), but also includes two metal artifacts.

Lithics

Lithic artifacts in the collection that are the byproducts of chipped stone tool production include two utilized chert flakes, one primary flake, secondary flakes (n = 13), tertiary flakes (n = 48), and indeterminate shatter (n = 8).

Analysts also identified fire-cracked rock (n = 95) in the collection including chert, limestone, and metaquartzite (n = 3) possible evidence of various activities, including toolmaking and cooking.

Metal

Two ferrous eyelets were recovered from Levels 5 and 13 of Unit 5, and while their specific use is unknown, it is likely that they served an activity-related function.

Armaments

The armaments category consists of four pistol gunflints (Figure 6-25). A French-made, honey-yellow chert flint with a broken heel and back and measuring approximately 19 mm^2 was recovered from Unit 5, Level 2 (80–90 cmbd). Honey-colored, French-made gunflints were the most common gunflint type in the New World prior to 1800, when they were replaced by English gunflints, which dominated the market from about 1790 until flintlock arms were replaced by percussion cap technology (Kenmotsu 1990: 96). The collection includes two English-made pistol flints composed of dark gray Brandon Flint, one measuring 20 mm^2 that displays evidence of heavy use and another that may be a wedge-shaped gunspall that measures 18 mm^2. One locally made pistol gunflint measuring 20 mm^2 is also in the collection.

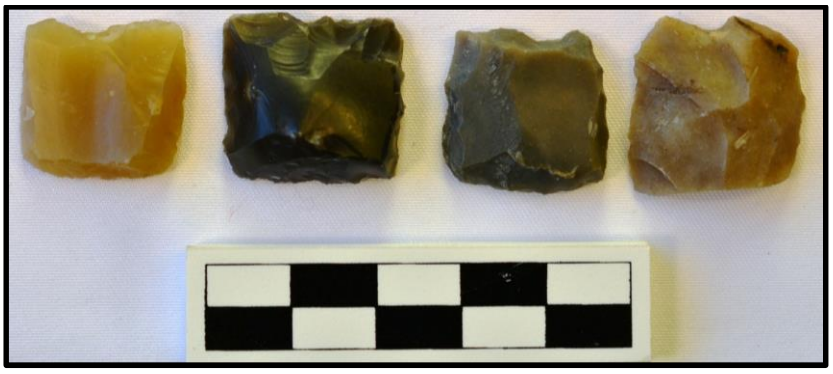

Figure 6-25: Gunflints recovered from SMF 2 at 41BX1753. (Far Left) French gunflint from Unit 5, Level 2, Cat. No. 60-27. (Left Center) English gunflint from the bulk collection, Cat. No. 85-593. (Right Center) English gunspall from the bulk collection, Cat. No. 85-594. (Far Right) Locally manufactured gunflint from the bulk collection, Cat. No. 85-592.

Monetary

A single cuprous disc, possibly representing a coin weighing 1.2 g with a 15 mm diameter, was recovered from Unit 5, Level 10 (160–170 cmbd; Figure 6-26). The coin is in very poor condition, but it generally matches the size and weight of jolas (half reales) locally produced in 1817 and 1818.

Figure 6-26: Possible 1817 or 1818 half real from SMF 2
at 41BX1753, Unit 5, Level 10, Cat. No. 68-40.

Architectural

Artifacts functionally categorized as architectural items (n = 213) constitute 11.4 percent of the nonbone collection and include brick fragments and stone building materials (n = 188), iron nails (22), and window glass (n = 3).

Building Materials

Atkins personnel analyzed a 32 percent sample (n = 60) of artifacts initially categorized as building materials (n = 188) and identified fired brick fragments (n = 59) and a sandstone fragment.

Metal

Square nails and square nail fragments (n = 22) make up the entire architectural metal artifact collection. Because these specimens are heavily encrusted with rust, analysts could not determine

whether they are wrought iron or cut nails, but examples of complete nails (n = 11) indicate a variety of nail sizes.

Glass

Three flat glass fragments determined to be window glass were recovered from Unit 5, Levels 7 and 8 (130–150 cmbd).

Indeterminate

The SMF 2 collection contains a number of artifacts with indeterminate functions (n = 552) that constitute 29.6 percent of the nonbone collection. Included in the indeterminate artifact assemblage are glass (n = 46), metal (n = 275), and other (n = 231) items that are either too small or too encrusted with rust to determine a function, or they are simply rocks and similar items that have no obvious function and were collected from the feature.

Faunal Materials

Analysts examined a 32.7 percent sample (n = 1,082) of the faunal materials recovered from Units 3 and 5 (n = 3,305). Like the 41BX179 faunal collection, the specimens in the SMF 2 collection are fragmentary, and analysts identified 84 percent (n = 909) of the sample as indeterminate mammals (n = 10), large mammals (n = 309), medium mammals (n = 493), small mammals (n = 5), fish (n = 52), and birds (n = 40). Table 6-6 provides the results of the faunal analysis, and reveals that domesticated animals comprise 48.5 percent of the assemblage while wild animals make up 40.5 percent[25]. Similar to the 41BX179 collection the two most common identified specimens in the collection are cattle (n = 43; 24.9 percent), and freshwater mussel (n=35; 20.2 percent). These data are however misleading to a certain

[25] The remaining 10.98 percent of the collection are Indeterminate *Artiodactyla* that could be either goat, sheep, or deer.

degree as the entire *lampsilis* assemblage was identified as such in the analyzed sample while a much greater proportion of the overall sample was too fragmentary to identify beyond indeterminate mammal.

Unlike the 41BX179 faunal assemblage, the 41BX1753 SMF 2 collection contained a variety of evidence for wild animals including a much higher proportion of white-tailed deer (n = 24), which makes up 13.9 percent of the total identified specimens, while another 11 percent were identified as indeterminate *Artiodactyla*, which may be white-tailed deer, goats, or sheep. We also recovered a fragment of the proximal end of the right humerus of a *Bison bison* from the Unit 5 shovel test as well as other wild animals found throughout the sample. This included turkey (n = 3), gray fox (n = 2), cotton rat (n = 2), cottontail rabbit (n = 1), and skunk (n = 1).

Evidence of cultural modification in the faunal sample includes burning and butchering. Approximately 15 percent of the faunal sample (n = 165) exhibited evidence of burning. Most of the burned bones were heavily charred to a black or a light gray, suggesting intentional discard in a fire rather than fortuitous blacking of exposed bone surfaces during cooking for consumption. This method of disposal was probably intended to inhibit flies and insects as well as larger scavenger species. Butchering damage was primarily recognized as evidence of chopping on cattle (n = 2), large mammal (n = 6), and medium mammals (n = 4), while sawing was less common and only present on large (n = 2) and medium mammals (n = 1).

Table 6-6: 41BX1753 SMF 2 Faunal Sample

Scientific Name	Common Name	NISP	Percent of NISP
Artiodactyla, Indeterminate	Goat/Sheep/ Deer	19	10.98%
Bovinae	Cattle/Bison	43	24.86%
Bison bison	Bison	1	0.58%
Canid	Dog	1	0.58%
Capra hircus	Goat	2	1.16%
Caprinae, Indeterminate	Goat/Sheep	6	3.47%
Chelonii	Turtles	1	0.58%
Equus f. caballus	Horses	3	1.73%
Felis catus	Domestic Cat	1	0.58%

Table 6-6: 41BX1753 SMF 2 Faunal Sample Continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	NISP	Percent of NISP
Gallus gallus domesticus	Chicken	9	5.20%
Lampsilis	Freshwater Mussel	35	20.23%
Melaegris gallopavo	Turkey	3	1.73%
Mephitidae	Skunk	1	0.58%
Odocoileus virginianus	White-tailed Deer	24	13.87%
Sigmodon hispidus	Cotton Rat	2	1.16%
Sus scrofa	Pig	19	10.98%
Sylvilagus	Cottontail Rabbit	1	0.58%
Urocyon cinereoargenteus	Gray Fox	2	1.16%
Total NISP		173	
Mammal, Indeterminate		10	
Large Mammal, Indeterminate		309	
Medium Mammal, Indeterminate		493	
Small Mammal, Indeterminate		5	
Fish, Indeterminate		52	
Bird, Indeterminate		40	
Total		**1082**	

Discussion

The archival record indicates that SMF 2 was located on the Delgado family property throughout the eighteenth century and specifically on the same tract as Clemente Delgado's household from about 1780 until the property was confiscated from him in 1813. The record is unclear if José Rojo or Francisco Collantes occupied the household or used the cistern during the decade after it was confiscated, but it is clear that the Delgado family reoccupied the household in 1823 and stayed until 1834 when Clemente's wife, Maria Gertrudis Saucedo, died and the tract was left to their heirs. The testing and data recovery excavations at SMF 2 reveal that the cistern feature can likely be attributed to the daily activities of Clemente Delgado and his family and provide evidence for the material conditions of domestic life over a period of time during the late Colonial Period when the feature was in use. While the artefactual evidence speaks to the mundane, the feature's context also provides a glimpse into a seminal moment of the region's history as the abandonment of the cistern may be related to Clemente Delgado's deportation due to his participation on the 1813 revolution (Hanson 2016: 283). As such, the evidence from the

Delgado Cistern provides the opportunity for a diachronic analysis of daily life in San Antonio during a period of significant change.

Predictably, the artifact assemblage reflects the activities associated with a domestic site. Like the 41BX179 collections, the majority (76.5 percent) of the total artifact collection is comprised of faunal materials that primarily represent discarded food items. Again, similar to the 41BX179 collections, the analyzed sample from the 41BX1753 faunal assemblage is comprised of nearly equal proportions of domesticated (48.5 percent) and wild animals (40.5 percent) of which cattle (24.9 percent) and freshwater mussel shell (20.2 percent) comprise the most common identified specimens. After faunal materials, items categorized as Kitchen artifacts comprise the second most common functional artifact type and account for 11.6 percent of the total collection or 48.2 percent of the nonbone artifact collection. In contrast, items categorized as Architecture artifacts (n=218) were the third most common identified artifact type and only comprise 2.8 percent of the total collection and 11.4 percent of the nonbone artifacts recovered from the feature.

Unit 3 and Unit 5 had a much lower overall density of materials than the midden deposits at 41BX179 and only contained 404 artifacts and 2,013.3 of animal bones per m^3 and 506 artifacts and 1,559.2 animal bones per m^3 respectively. That said, Levels 10, 11, and 12 represent the densest levels in the both units with 766.7 artifacts and 2236.4 animal bones per m^3 which generally represent the upper portions of Zone VIII (Figure 6-12 and Figure 6-16) or the deepest zone of the feature that was composed of dark brown clay loam with heavy carbon stains. Although refuse is clearly present, these data predictably indicate that the primary function of the cistern feature was not refuse disposal and the materials in the cistern were either periodically washed in from an adjacent midden deposit or occasionally tossed in by individuals. The relatively high density of materials in Zone VIII indicates that it may have been more commonly used for refuse disposal earlier in the feature's history.

While the feature is clearly associated with a domestic site and domestic activities, like the 41BX179 deposits, situating the SMF 2 within a specific temporal context is a little less certain. The basin-shaped feature fill in SMF 2 is composed of successively stratified zones representing gradual accumulation and other depositional events at the bottom of a hand-excavated pit that sits below a single filling episode of very dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2) clay loam. In general, Unit 3 explored the homogenous fill and the latest stratified deposits, while Unit 5 explored the earlier stratified deposits at the bottom of the feature. Not surprisingly, as Table 6-7 depicts, the MCD for Unit 3 (n=1796) is 14 years later than the MCD for Unit 5 (n= 1782.3). When adjusted for time lag, these data suggest that the deposits at the bottom of SMF 2 and investigated in Unit 5 may have formed gradually between about 1797 and 1812, and the filling episode recognized by the homogenous zone in Unit 3 occurred during a period between 1811 and 1826.

Table 6-7: 41BX1753 SMF 2 Mean Ceramic Date According to Unit.

Type	Date Range	Median	Unit 3	Unit 5*
Annularware (Pearlware), Banded	1785-1840	1812.5	2	9
Annularware (Pearlware), Cabled	1782-1820	1801	1	1
Annularware (Pearlware), Indeterminate	1780-1840	1810	1	1
Annularware (Pearlware), Marbelized	1782-1820	1801	N/A	2
Burnished Coarse Earthenware, Indeterminate	1720-1850	1785	N/A	1
Coarse Earthenware, Indeterminate	1720-1850	1785	1	22
Creamware, Undecorated	1762-1820	1791	1	6
Edgeware, Scalloped Rim, Impressed Curved Lines	1802-1832	1817	1	3
Edgeware, Scalloped Rim, Impressed Straight Lines	1809-1831	1820	1	4
Goliad Ware	1720-1820	1770	6	55
Lead-Glazed Ware, Dark Brown	1750-1830	1790	N/A	5
Lead-Glazed Ware, Galera	1725-1850	1787.5	1	15
Lead-Glazed Ware, Indeterminate Fine Paste	1720-1850	1785	N/A	2
Lead-Glazed Ware, Red Brown	1700-1800	1750	2	7
Lead-Glazed Ware, Smooth Brown	1775-1830	1802.5	N/A	19
Lead-Glazed Ware, Yellow and Green Glaze I	1700-1800	1750	2	28
Lead-Glazed Ware, Yellow and Green Glaze II	1700-1800	1750	1	27
Majolica, Guanajuato Polychrome	1800-1850	1825	N/A	3
Majolica, Indeterminate Decorated	1720-1850	1785	N/A	11
Majolica, Monterey Polychrome	1775-1830	1802.5	N/A	7
Majolica, Puebla Blue on White	1650-1830	1740	1	20
Majolica, San Elizario Polychrome	1750-1850	1800	N/A	2
Majolica, Tumacacori Polychrome	1810-1860	1835	N/A	1

Table 6-7: 41BX1753 SMF 2 Mean Ceramic Date According to Unit Continued.

Type	Date Range	Median	Unit 3	Unit 5*
Majolica, Undecorated	1720-1850	1785	3	48
Pearlware, Hand Painted Blue and White	1775-1840	1807.5	2	7
Pearlware, Hand Painted Polychrome, Early	1795-1820	1807.5	4	11
Pearlware, Hand Painted Polychrome, Late	1830-1840	1835	3	N/A
Pearlware, Transfer Printed, Blue	1784-1840	1812	1	12
Pearlware, Transfer Printed, Dark Blue	1818-1830	1824	2	N/A
Pearlware, Undecorated	1780-1840	1810	2	27
Porcelain, Undecorated	1720-1850	1785	N/A	1
Red Burnished Ware	1725-1800	1762.5	N/A	1
Stoneware, Indeterminate	1820-1900	1860	N/A	1
Stoneware, Salt Glazed	1800-1900	1850	N/A	1
Storage Jar	1800-1900	1850	N/A	1
Tonalá Burnished Ware	1720-1810	1765	N/A	11
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Purple	1829-1860	1845	1	N/A
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Red	1829-1850	1840	1	N/A
Whiteware, Undecorated	1830-1900	1865	N/A	3
Total			**40**	**375**
Mean Ceramic Date (Total Product/Total Count)=			**1796.03**	**1782.3**

*Unit 5 data and ceramic counts include samples collected from the Shovel Test.

Like the 41BX179 collection, using Stanley South's methodology for dating sites the 41BX1753 assemblage is also not ideal, and like the 41BX179 collection, the issues are primarily related to the wide production ranges of many of the ceramic types in the collection. This problem is exaggerated in the 41BX1753 assemblage due to the higher proportion of ceramics imported from England, which generally have a tighter production period and as a result are more temporally diagnostic. In fact, the high proportions of English wares actually skew the MCDs. For example, the MCDs for the temporally diagnostic decorated ceramics from Units 3 and 5 are 1814.9 and 1793.3 respectively, but the temporally diagnostic decorated samples are 93.75 and 59.7 percent of English wares respectively. These data do not accurately reflect the overall character of the total assemblages that are 57.5 and 23.7 percent English wares respectively; that results in later MCDs that also may not accurately reflect the age of the deposit.

Although these temporally diagnostic MCDs are problematic, if adjusted for time lag, they suggest that the deposits at the bottom of SMF 2 may have formed gradually between about 1808 and 1823, and the filling episode recognized by the homogenous zone in Unit 3 occurred during a period between 1829

and 1844. As presented here and suggested in the previous chapter, Stanley South's MCD methodology may not be ideal for dating eighteenth and early nineteenth century assemblages in San Antonio, and although clear cut date ranges are probably not attainable for these features, the data generally indicate that the Unit 5 assemblage and the features' lower deposits date to a period around the turn of the century and the Mexican War of Independence (1797 to 1823), while the Unit 3 assemblage and the upper deposits including the filling episode date to a period after Clemente Delgado was deported and as late as the 1840s (1811 to 1844).

While ceramics respectively comprise 42.5 and 42.9 percent of Unit 3 and Unit 5 nonbone artifact assemblages, as indicated by the divergent MCDs presented above, the ceramic assemblages in the two units are actually very different. As Figure 6-27 reveals, proportionally speaking, the total Unit 5 ceramic assemblage is composed of 23.7 percent English ceramics (n = 89), 61.6 percent Spanish Colonial wares (n = 231), and 14.6 percent locally made Goliad Ware (n = 55) while the Unit 3 assemblage contains 57.5 percent (n=23) English wares, 27.5 percent Spanish Colonial wares (n=11), and 15 percent Goliad Ware (n=6). Furthermore, Figure 6-28 presents the relative proportions of ceramic types by production origin per level, and reveals that between the two units the proportion of English ceramics increased over time, while the proportions of Spanish Colonial ceramics generally decreased and the proportion of Goliad Ware remained relatively constant. According to these data, English Wares increased from 11.7 percent of ceramics recovered from the bottom of the feature to 75 percent of the ceramics recovered from the uppermost level of the Unit 5 and over 80 percent in Unit 3, Level 8.

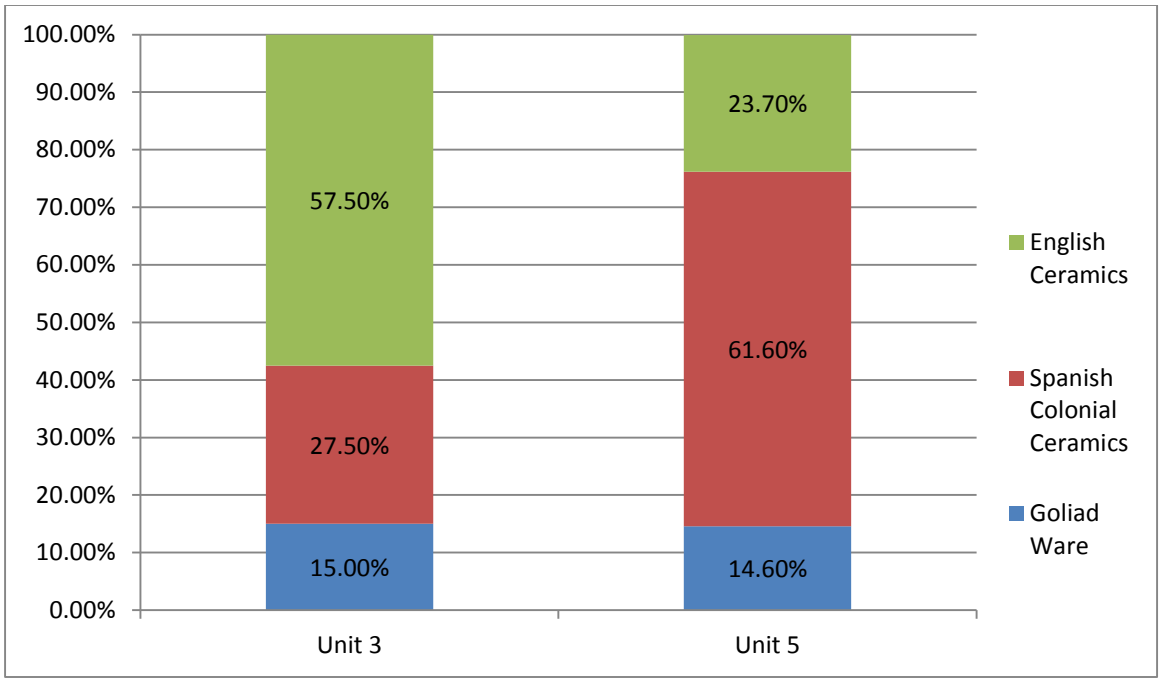

Figure 6-27: Proportional composition of the Unit 3 and Unit 5 ceramic assemblages according to origin.

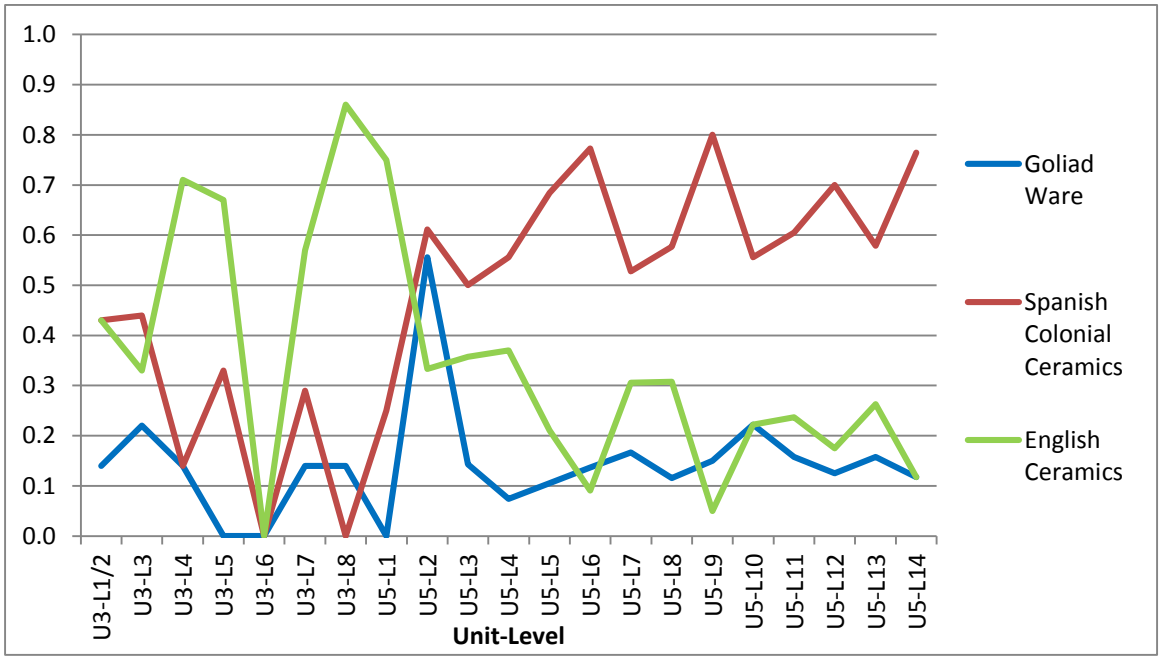

Figure 6-28: Proportional distribution of the Unit 3 and Unit 5 ceramic assemblages according to origin per level.

This trend is not unique to this feature, and several archaeological investigations in San Antonio have recovered English ceramics in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century contexts, an occurrence

that Anne Fox attributed to the Mexican Era and an associated surge in the illicit and legal trade during the second and third decades of the nineteenth century (Fox 1992:74). However, as will be discussed further below and in Chapter 8, the archival record and archaeological evidence in the region, including SMF 2 and 41BX1598, or the Núñez-Arocha Middens (see below, Figueroa and Mauldin 2005), indicate that the introduction of English ceramics into San Antonio predates the Mexican War of Independence, and is more likely attributed to an increased Anglo-American presence in the region during the last decade of the eighteenth century leading up to the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 that resulted in more trade opportunities and an influx of goods.

An aspect of the collection that may be related to increased trade with Anglo-Americans in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is the relative abundance of metal and glass artifacts in the collection in comparison to the 41BX179 collection. Figure 6-29 depicts the percentages of glass, metal and lithics in the Unit 3 and Unit 5 collections and suggests that although overall all three artifact classes represent a small percentage of the total nonbone, metal artifacts account for approximately four percent more than lithic artifacts in both collections. Similarly, Figure 6-30 depicts the distribution of lithic, metal, and glass artifacts in both units and reveals that in general, these artifact classes are evenly distributed across both units. These data suggest that unlike the 41BX179 collections, metal and glass objects appear to have been relatively available during the period the cistern was in use, although stone tool technologies continued to serve a role in daily life.

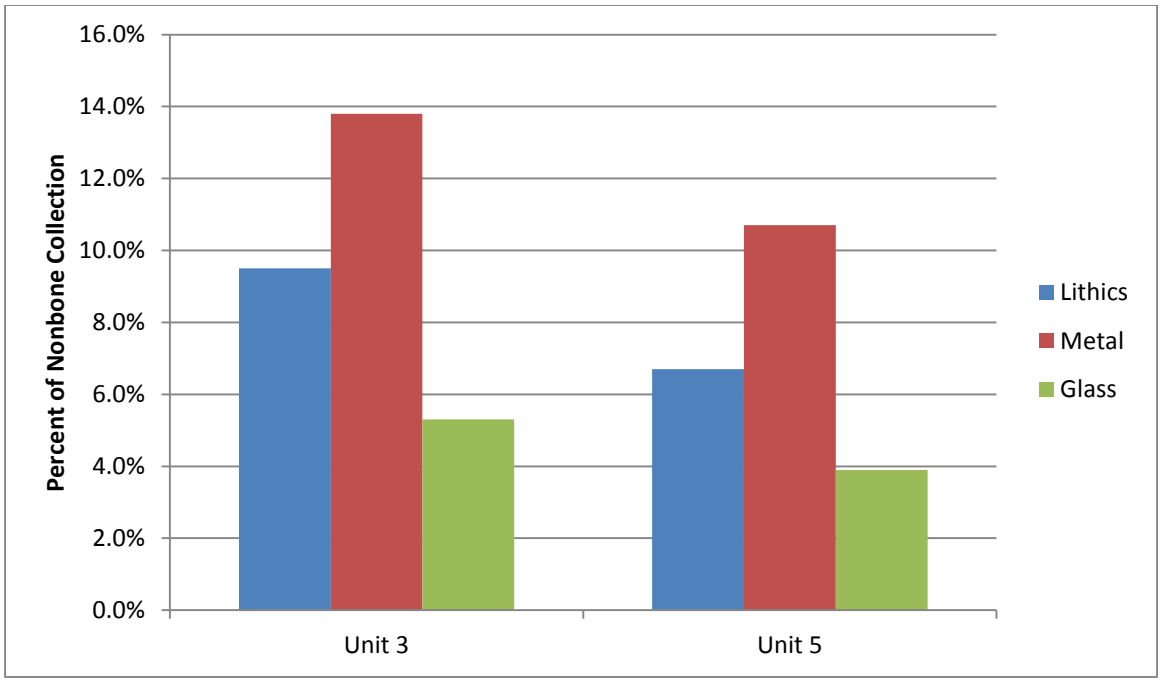

Figure 6-29: Percentages of lithic, metal, and glass artifacts in Unit 3 and Unit 5 nonbone collections.

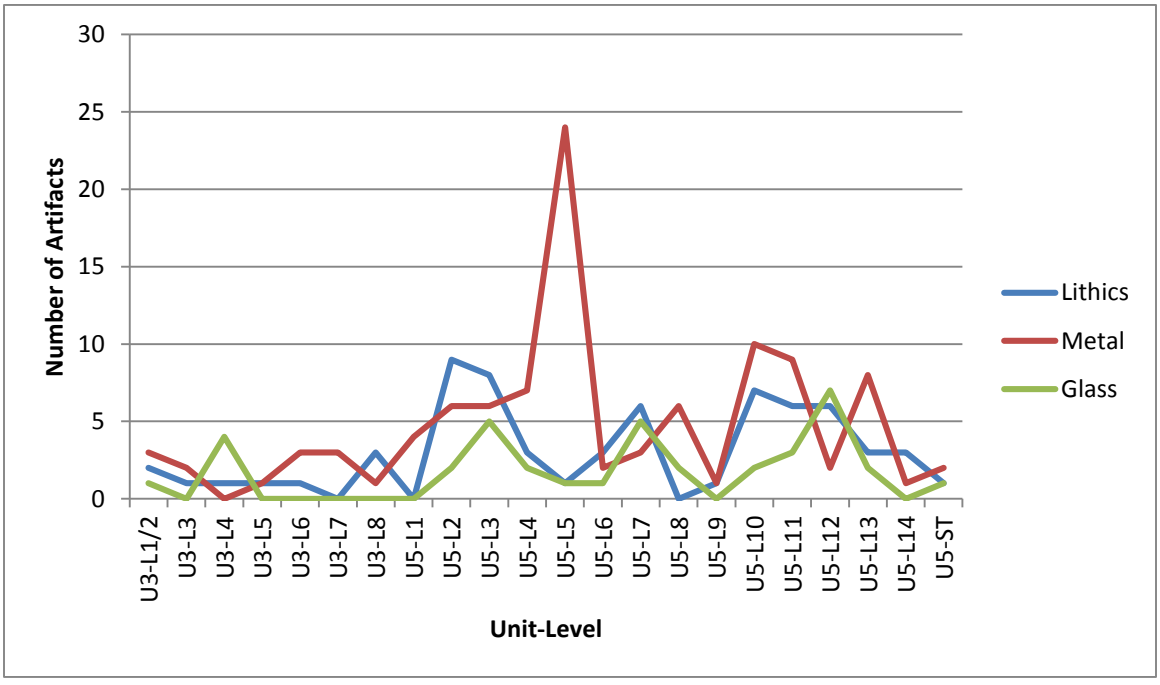

Figure 6-30: Distribution of lithic, metal, and glass artifacts in Unit 3 and Unit 5 per level.

Similar to the ceramic assemblages, the Unit 3 and Unit 5 faunal assemblages comprise similar proportions of the total collections and make up 82.8 percent (n=453) and 76.3 percent (n=2,817) respectively. While the proportions are similar, the density of faunal materials in Unit 3 was almost 30 percent greater than Unit 5 and had an estimated 2,013.3 animal bones per m^3 compared to 1,559.2 animal bones per m^3 indicating that the homogenous fill material investigated in Unit 3 may have come from some sort of kitchen midden deposit.

As mentioned above, the analysis of a sample of the faunal materials revealed that domesticated animals comprise 49.5 percent of the assemblage while wild animals make up 40.5 percent and the two most common identified specimens in the collection are cattle (n = 43; 24.9 percent), and freshwater mussel (n=35; 20.2 percent). However, the analysis also revealed that 54.2 percent of the indeterminate specimens were identified as the remains of medium mammals (n=493). These data are mirrored in the identified specimens data as white-tailed deer (n = 24) make up 13.9 percent of the total identified specimens, pigs (n=19) and Artiodactyla (white-tailed deer, goats, or sheep; n=19) each make up another 11 percent of the collection, and specimens identified as goats (n=2) or goats/sheep (n=2) comprise 4.6 percent all together totaling 40.5 percent of the identified specimens sample.

Figure 6-31 depicts the distribution of the indeterminate large and medium mammal specimens and Figure 6-32 depicts the distribution of identified large and medium specimens[26] in Unit 3 and Unit 5 according to level. Figure 6-31 predictably reveals that indeterminate medium mammal remains were more common than large mammals in nearly every level[27]. Both figures indicate that almost no cattle or

[26] Dom. Med. Mammal are specimen identified as Pig (n=19), Goat/sheep (n=6), and Goat (n=2)

[27] The drastic differences in the numbers of specimens recovered from Unit 3 and Unit 5 is due to unit size: Unit 3 measured 0.30 x 1.0 m while Unit 5 measured 1.10 x 1 m . Density of faunal materials was greater in Unit 3 (2,013.3 animal bones per m^3) than Unit 5 (1,559.2 animal bones per m^3).

indeterminate large mammals remains were recovered from levels one through six in Unit 3, which roughly represents the homogenous fill zone. Similarly, evidence of indeterminate medium mammal remains were much more common than large mammals in levels ten through thirteen which generally represent Zone VIII (Figure 6-12 and Figure 6-16) or the deepest zone of the feature that was composed of dark brown clay loam with heavy carbon stains. Interestingly, remains identified as cattle are also relatively common in these levels, although they are in near even proportion to whitetail deer, indeterminate medium artiodactyl, and domesticated medium mammal remains.

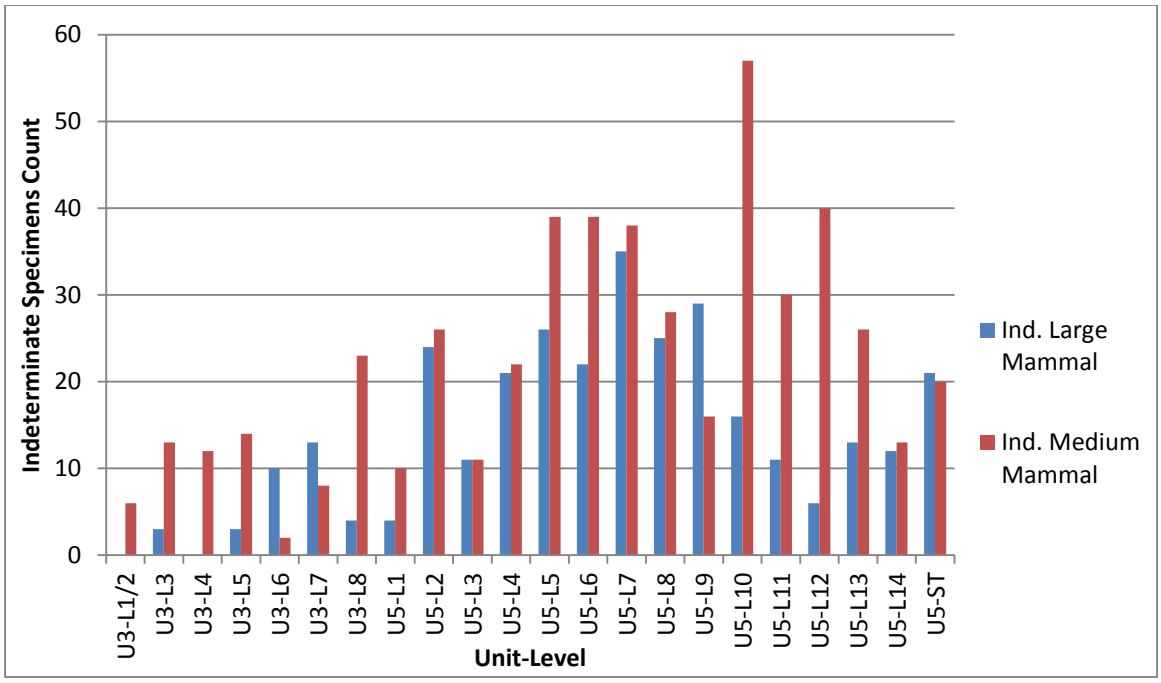

Figure 6-31: Distribution of indeterminate large and medium mammal specimens in Unit 3 and Unit 5 per level.

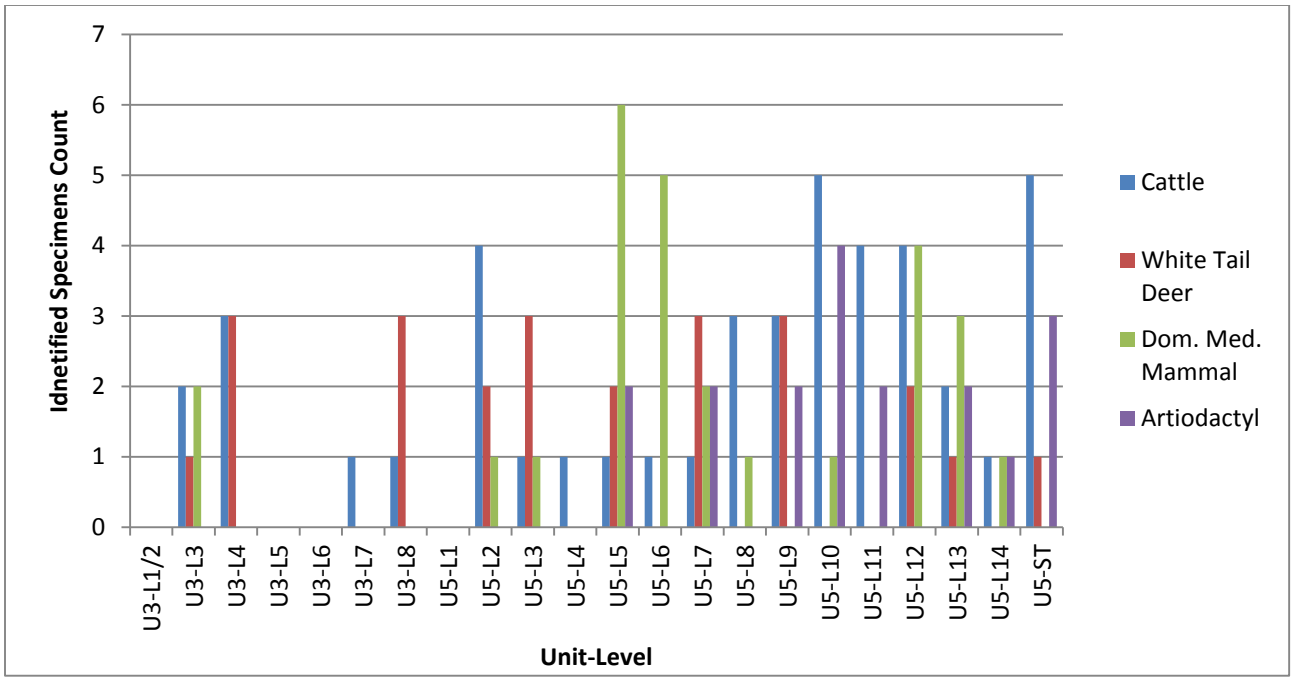

Figure 6-32: Distribution of identified large and medium specimens in Unit 3 and Unit 5 per level.

As suggested above, riverine resources, especially freshwater mussels comprise 20.2 percent of the identified specimens in the sample. Figure 6-33 depicts the distribution of mussel shell (n=34) and indeterminate fish (n=52) remains in Unit 3 and Unit 5 and reveal that all riverine specimens were recovered from Unit 5, and like the large and medium mammal remains above, they were primarily recovered from levels ten through thirteen or the bottom zone of the feature.

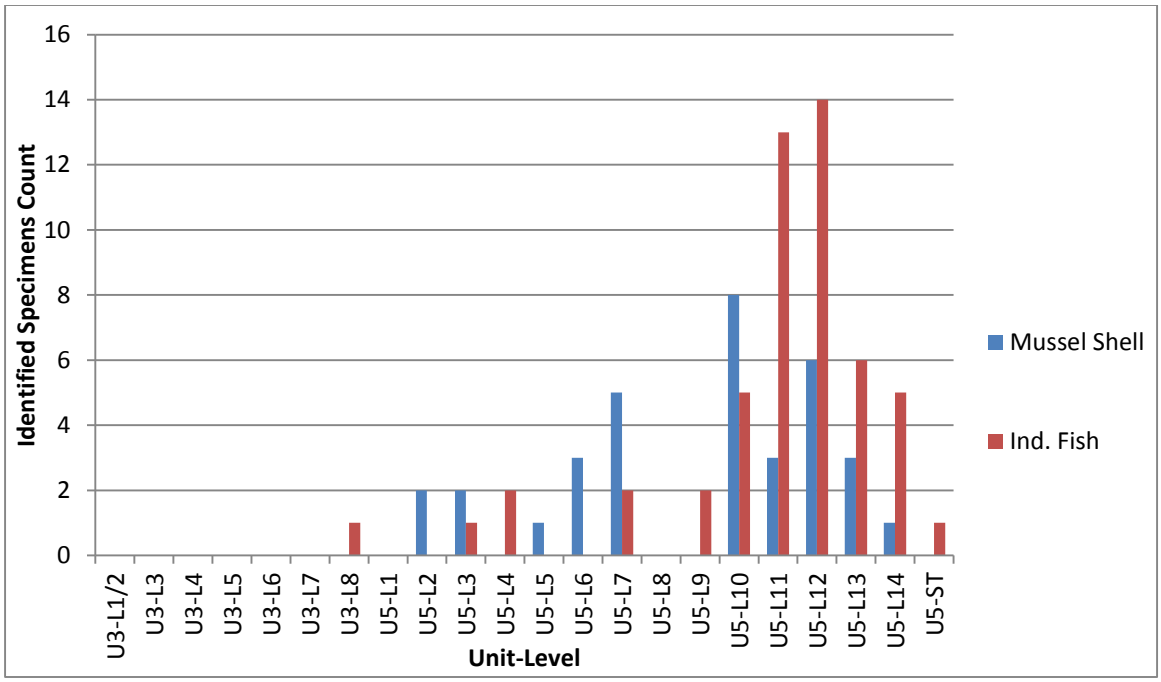

Figure 6-33: Distribution of riverine resources in Unit 3 and Unit 5 per level.

The evidence above indicates that SMF 2 was in use during the period when the property was occupied by Clemente Delgado and his family in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and was subsequently filled in sometime after Clemente Delgado was deported, but may have been in use as late as the 1840s. The composition of the total artifact assemblage indicates that the cistern was associated with domestic activities and with a domestic site, but the relative densities of materials from the stratified deposits in Unit 5 may suggest that the cistern was used more intensely as a refuse pit early in its use history, and that the overlaying stratified zones either represent events that resulted in adjacent midden materials washing into the cistern or changes in disposal practices at the cistern by the Delgado household.

More importantly, the evidence suggests that the Delgado household used the cistern during a period of exceptional change that included the Louisiana Purchase and the Mexican War of Independence. As such, the Delgado Cistern assemblages have the ability to shed light on daily life

during an important point in *Béxar's* history that was integral to the development of *Tejano* identity. The gradual increase of English ceramics and the relative abundance of metal and glass artifacts throughout the feature point to an increased Anglo-American presence in the region and new trade opportunities leading up to and directly following the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. As will be discussed further below and in Chapter 8, the Anglo-American presence resulted in new trade markets for *Béxareños* and imported goods began to play a more significant role in households. At the same time, the evidence suggests a level of stability where aspects of the household established in the eighteenth century remained meaningful during this period of revolution and change. Despite the dramatic increase in English ceramics over time and the availability of metal and glass objects, Goliad Ware and evidence of stone tool technologies remained a significant portion of the assemblage over time. Similarly, the faunal evidence indicates that the types of animal proteins consumed at the Delgado household remained relatively constant over time and included a variety of domesticated and wild medium mammals as well as cattle and riverine resources, evidence of which was also present in the eighteenth century 41BX179 collections.

The Núñez-Arocha Middens: 41BX1598

Like the 41BX179 collection, the Delgado Cistern collection is modest in size, which may also speak to a dearth of available materials in eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries San Antonio, but is more likely a product of feature's primary function as a cistern and secondary function as a place for refuse disposal. Despite the functional differences between the deposits at the two sites, like 41BX179, the Delgado Cistern provides some of the best evidence of domestic life at the turn of the century in *Béxar*. Like the previous chapter, the aim of this chapter was to establish a baseline for late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries artifact assemblages in *Béxar* and identify material aspects of daily life that may have been significant in shaping *Tejano* identity during a significant period in the region's history. This portion of the chapter further refines this objective by presenting the data from a site contemporaneous with

41BX1753, 41BX1598 or the Núñez-Arocha Middens, to further highlight changes in material culture that may have played a role in identity formation during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The Núñez-Arocha Middens or 41BX1598 is located on the northwest corner of the Plaza de Armas catty corner to the Spanish Governor's Palace, and is a site that contained two stratified midden deposits contemporaneous with the deposits at 41BX1753 (Figure 6-1). Not surprisingly, the families that historically occupied the tract are both directly related to the Menchaca family and linked to the Delgado family. In brief, the early history of the parcel is unclear, but it would have been a part of the Presidio complex as early as the reestablishment of the Presidio in 1722. The tract was formally granted to Maria Josefa de Valdez [unknown to unknown] in 1778, who was the daughter of the second presidio commander, Captain Nicolas Flores de Valdez and second wife of Thoribio de Urrutia, the former presidio captain and both uncle and father-in-law of Captain Luis Antonio Menchaca from the Spanish Governor's Palace (see Chapter 5; Chabot 1937: 21). Following her death in the early nineteenth century, the house at the corner of the plaza was given to her daughter from the first marriage, Maria Josefa Núñez de Morillo [1766 to unknown] and her husband, Juan Francisco de Arocha [1753 to 1814], the son of Canary Island settler Simón Arocha [1731-1796] and Maria Urrutia [1740 to 1812], Thoribio's niece.

Evidence suggests that Maria Josefa Núñez de Morillo and her husband Francisco Arocha lived at the house on the corner of the plaza with her mother prior to being awarded the home around 1807 until 1813 when the house was confiscated from the couple for Francisco's role in the Mexican War of Independence (Delgado 1813). Like Clemente Delgado, Francisco Arocha was deported for his role as an insurgent; however, Francisco was taken to Monterrey and executed and never returned to *Béxar*. For a short time following the 1813 Revolution, the Núñez-Arocha house was used as barracks for the militia of Texas, but eventually was returned to the family for a short time before it was deeded to Father Francisco Maynes in 1828 (BCDR B2: 5). The location was subsequently known as the "Priest's House," and became

famous as one of the structures on the Zambrano Row the Texians took in their victory during the Siege of *Béxar* (Cox 2005: 128).

In 2003 CAR (Figueroa and Mauldin 2005) carried out archaeological investigations at the location in anticipation of the development for the San Fernando Community Center and recorded a number of features, but most important two stratified midden deposits that they called the Northern Midden (Midden 1) and the Southern Midden (Midden 2). The Northern Midden contained seven stratified zones with cultural materials and CAR excavated four units to investigate these deposits. Table 6-8 depicts the results of these excavations and reveals that faunal bone (n=12,007) comprises 83.6 percent of the assemblage while ceramics (n=1419) make up 9.9 percent of the total collection or 60.25 percent of the nonbone collection (Figueroa and Mauldin 2005: 77). Spanish Colonial ceramics (n=1038) are the most common and comprise 73.2 percent of the assemblage while English Ceramics (n=217) and Goliad Ware (n=164) make up 15.3 and 11.5 percent respectively. Interestingly, CAR investigators recovered two sherds of French Faience from the Northern Midden, which they grouped under Spanish Colonial ceramics, but did not reveal their specific provenience.

Table 6-8: Artifact Densities for Units Excavated at 41BX1598 Northern Midden[28]

Unit	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial Ceramics	English Ceramics	Glass	Metal	Buttons	Debitage	Lithic Tools	Gunflints	Bone Tools	Burned Rock	Building Materials	Total	Bone
1	14	152	60	18	12	2	55	2	2	2	102	4	425	1719
2	38	273	33	17	72	0	65	2	0	0	137	0	637	2942
4	42	203	50	19	41	3	65	3	1	1	49	13	490	3973
5	70	410	74	25	44	3	85	5	3	2	79	3	803	3373
Total	164	1038	217	79	169	8	270	12	6	5	367	20	2355	12007

Figueroa and Mauldin performed chi-square tests for all four units to examine vertical distribution of the "Colonial ceramics, including Native American Goliad ceramics, relative to English ceramics" and

[28] Adapted from Figueroa and Mauldin 2005: 77.

found that there was no significant increase in Colonial ceramics relative to English ceramics with increasing depth in Units 1, 2 and 4, and although Colonial wares were overrepresented in some cells in the Unit 5 chi-square test, they did "not make chronological sense" (Ibid.: 81). Like the 41BX1753 deposit, the Northern Midden deposit contained English wares in every zone including the deepest zones.

The Southern Midden (Midden 2) was smaller than the Northern Midden and was composed of two major depositional sequences, referred to as the upper midden deposit and the lower midden deposit. CAR excavated a single unit (Unit 6) to investigate the Southern Midden and instead of presenting their data in raw counts, Figueroa and Mauldin provided "corrected volumetric estimates" (per m^3) of the materials recovered from the deposits, which are presented in Table 6-9, although the raw counts for the ceramics area also depicted[29]. The evidence indicates that the upper midden deposit was much denser with materials than the lower midden deposit and although both deposits primarily contained animal bone, the upper midden deposit contained almost seven times the amount as the lower midden deposit with an estimated 7,554.7 bones per m^3 compared to 1,091.4 bones per m^3. Ceramics again comprised the second most common artifact class and in both deposits Spanish Colonial ceramics (n=37) made up the majority of types recovered and represent 72 and 82.6 percent of the assemblages from the upper and lower deposits respectively. English ceramics (n=5) were not present in the lower midden deposit, but make up 20 percent of the upper midden deposit while Goliad Ware (n=6) comprises 8 and 17.3 percent of the upper and lower deposits.

[29] I obtained the raw counts for the ceramics by examining the collection.

Table 6-9: Artifact Densities for 41BX1598, Unit 6, Southern Midden											
Zone	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial Ceramics	English Ceramics	Glass	Metal	Buttons	Debitage	Lithic Tools	Gunflints	Burned Rock	Bone
Upper Midden Deposit	15.1 (2)	317.0 (18)	45.3 (5)	37.7	45.3	7.5	158.5	15.1	0	158.5	7554.7
Lower Midden Deposit	22.9 (4)	165.7 (19)	0 (0)	17.1	5.7	0	57.1	5.7	5.7	228.6	1091.4

Table 6-10 presents the ceramic types recovered from the Northern Midden[30] and the upper and lower deposits in the Southern Midden and reveals that the 41BX1598 types are very similar to those recovered from 41BX1753 and include many of the late eighteenth and early nineteen centuries majolica types and English Edgeware and various Pearlware types (Figure 6-34). This is even true with regard to the lower deposit of the Southern MIdden that contained two sherds of Puebla Blue on White II (1775-1800) and a single sherd of unidentified type of Aranama Polychrome (1750-1850). Not surprisingly, the 41BX1598 deposits have very similar MCDs to those from the 41BX1753 deposits and as a result, they appear to be associated with the period when Maria Josefa Núñez de Morillo and her husband, Francisco de Arocha occupied the property from the late 1780s until the property was confiscated in 1813.

Table 6-10: 41BX1598 Mean Ceramic Dates for the Northern and Southern Midden Deposit

Type	Date Range	Median	Northern Midden	Southern Midden-Upper Deposit	Southern Midden-Lower Deposit
Annularware (Pearlware), Banded	1785-1840	1812.5	9	2	N/A
Creamware, Undecorated	1762-1820	1791	42	2	N/A
Coarse Earthenware, Indeterminate	1720-1850	1785	38	N/A	N/A
Edgeware, Scalloped Rim, Impressed Curved Lines	1802-1832	1817	1	N/A	N/A
Edgeware, Scalloped Rim, Impressed Straight Lines	1809-1831	1820	6	N/A	N/A

[30] Figueroa and Mauldin only provided counts for "dated ceramic types" (n=1000) for the Northern midden (Figueroa and Mauldin 2005: 83).

Table 6-10: 41BX1598 Mean Ceramic Dates for the Northern and Southern Midden Deposit Continued

Type	Date Range	Median	Northern Midden	Southern Midden-Upper Deposit	Southern Midden-Lower Deposit
Edgeware, Indeterminate Impressed	1785-1840	1812.5	2	N/A	N/A
Edgeware, Embossed Patterns	1823-1835	1829	1	N/A	N/A
French Faience	1700-1770	1735	2	N/A	N/A
Goliad Ware	1720-1820	1770	118	2	4
Lead-Glazed Ware, Galera	1725-1850	1787.5	145	9	12
Lead-Glazed Ware, Sandy Paste	1720-1850	1785	186	5	4
Lead-Glazed Ware, Red Brown	1700-1800	1750	6	N/A	N/A
Lustreware, Spanish	1720-1820	1770	2	N/A	N/A
Majolica, Aranama Polychrome	1750-1850	1800	1	N/A	1
Majolica, Guanajuato Polychrome	1800-1850	1825	42	N/A	N/A
Majolica, Huejotzingo Wavy Rim Band	1775-1825	1800	30	1	N/A
Majolica, Indeterminate Decorated	1720-1850	1785	54	N/A	N/A
Majolica, Monterey Polychrome	1775-1830	1802.5	4	N/A	N/A
Majolica, Puebla Blue on White	1650-1830	1740	6	N/A	N/A
Majolica, Puebla Blue on White II	1775-1800	1787.5	6	2	1
Majolica, San Agustin	1700-1780	1740	4	N/A	N/A
Majolica, San Diego	1700-1800	1750	1	N/A	N/A
Majolica, San Elizario Polychrome	1750-1850	1800	5	1	N/A
Majolica, Tumacacori Polychrome	1810-1860	1835	2	N/A	N/A
Majolica, Undecorated	1720-1850	1785	144	N/A	N/A
Olive Jar, Late Style	1800-1900	1850	6	N/A	N/A
Pearlware, Hand painted Blue and White	1775-1840	1807.5	1	N/A	N/A
Pearlware, Hand painted Polychrome, Early	1795-1820	1807.5	14	N/A	N/A
Pearlware, Transfer Printed, Blue	1784-1840	1812	31	N/A	N/A
Pearlware, Undecorated	1780-1840	1810	45	N/A	N/A
Red Burnished Ware	1725-1800	1762.5	21	N/A	N/A

Table 6-10: 41BX1598 Mean Ceramic Dates for the Northern and Southern Midden Deposit Continued

Type	Date Range	Median	Northern Midden	Southern Midden-Upper Deposit	Southern Midden-Lower Deposit
Tonala Burnished Ware	1720-1810	1765	19	N/A	N/A
Tonala Glazed	1780-1830	1805	3	N/A	1
Valero, Red Painted	1720-1820	1770	3	N/A	N/A
Whiteware, Sponged or Spattered	1830-1860	1845	N/A	1	N/A
Total			**1000**	**25**	**23**
Mean Ceramic Date (Total Product/Total Count)=			**1787.8**	**1791.2**	**1783.56**

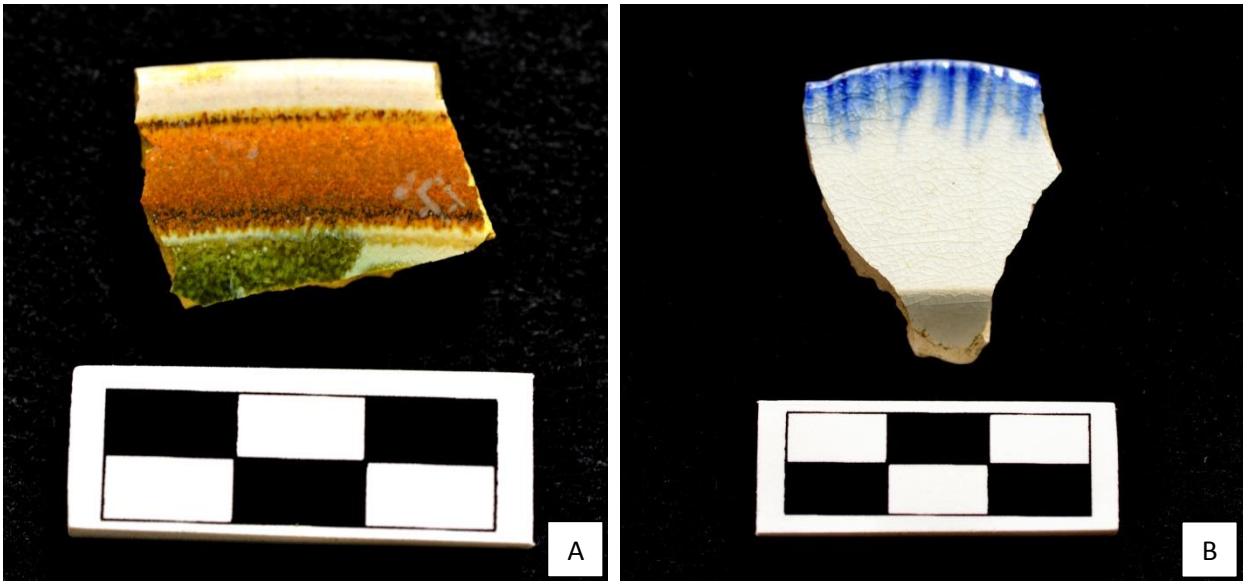

Figure 6-34: Majolica and Edgeware sherds from 41BX1598. (A) Monterey Polychrome from the Northern Midden, Unit 4, Zone 4 (Cat. No. 95-008). (C) English "Feather" or "Shell" Edgeware from the Northern Midden Unit 1, Level 9 (Cat. No. 68-002).

With the ceramic assemblage data in mind, Figueroa and Mauldin recognized that the three middens could provide the "opportunity to investigate temporal changes within the Colonial period," by comparing the proportion of English ceramics to the rest of the ceramic types as well as the percentages of metal and glass artifacts as "metal and glass artifacts increasingly replaced lithics later in time" (ibid.: 90). Figure 6-35 depicts the proportional breakdowns of each ceramic assemblage according to origin and reveal that the upper portion of the Southern Midden (n=5) had the highest proportion of English

ceramics with 20 percent compared to the Northern Midden (n=217) at 15.3 percent and the lower deposit of the Southern Midden which had no English ceramics. However, according to Figure 6-37 the upper portion of the Southern Midden has a percentage of lithics almost four times the percentage of metal artifacts and twice the amount of lithics in the lower midden while the proportions of the two artifact classes are much more even in the Northern Midden and heavily weighted towards lithic artifacts in the lower deposit in the Southern Midden. Based on these data, Figueroa and Maudlin concluded that the lower deposit in the Southern Midden "is the earliest encountered at the 41BX1598" and "though there is probably significant temporal overlap between the upper deposit within the Southern Midden and the Northern MIdden, the Northern Midden as a whole, may be later in time" (ibid.: 90).

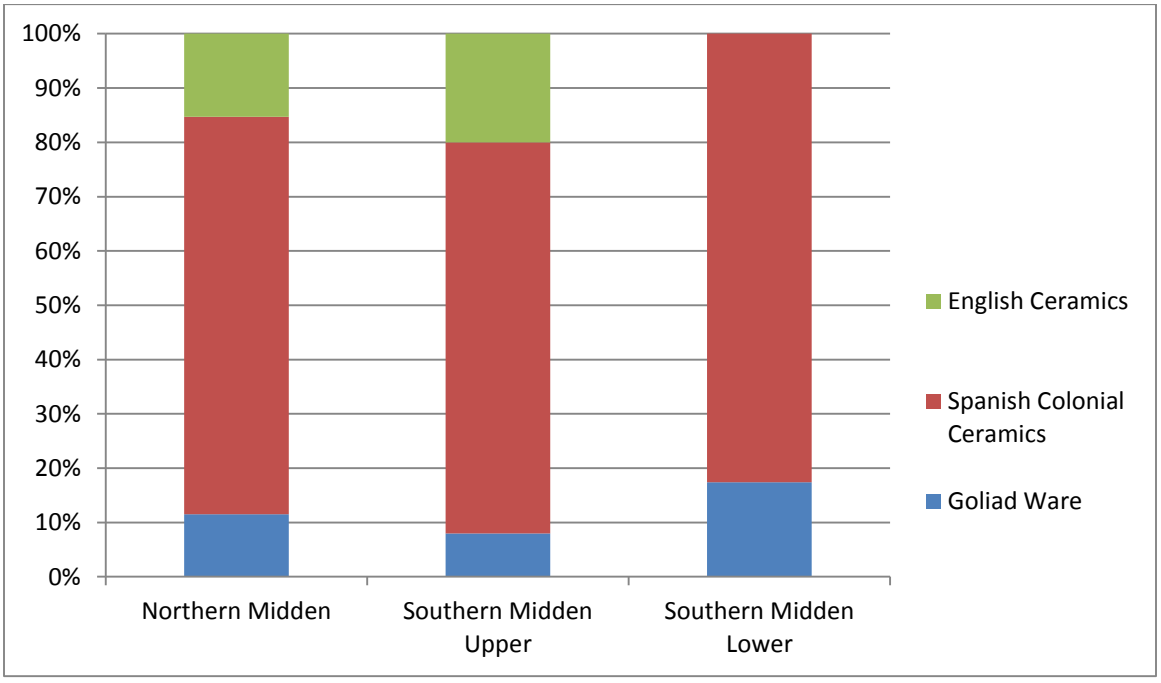

Figure 6-35: Proportional composition of the Northern and Southern Middens' ceramic assemblages according to origin (adapted from Figueroa and Mauldin 2005: 91)[31].

[31] Figueroa and Mauldin calculated the proportion of English ceramics from the Southern Midden based on "corrected volumetric estimates for major artifact classes". I employed the actual counts of recovered artifact to make Figure 6-35 and Figure 6-37.

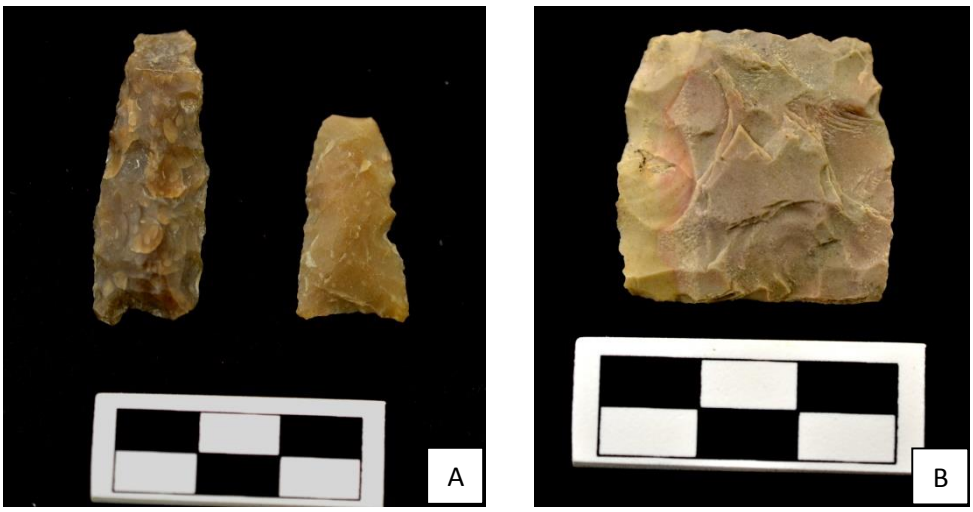

Figure 6-36: (A) Guerrero points recovered from Northern Midden Left: Unit 7, Level 5 (Cat. No. 159-015) and Right: Unit 5, Zone 6, Level 1 (Cat. No. 113-007) (B) Locally-made gunflint recovered from Northern Midden, Unit 4, surface (Cat No. 91).

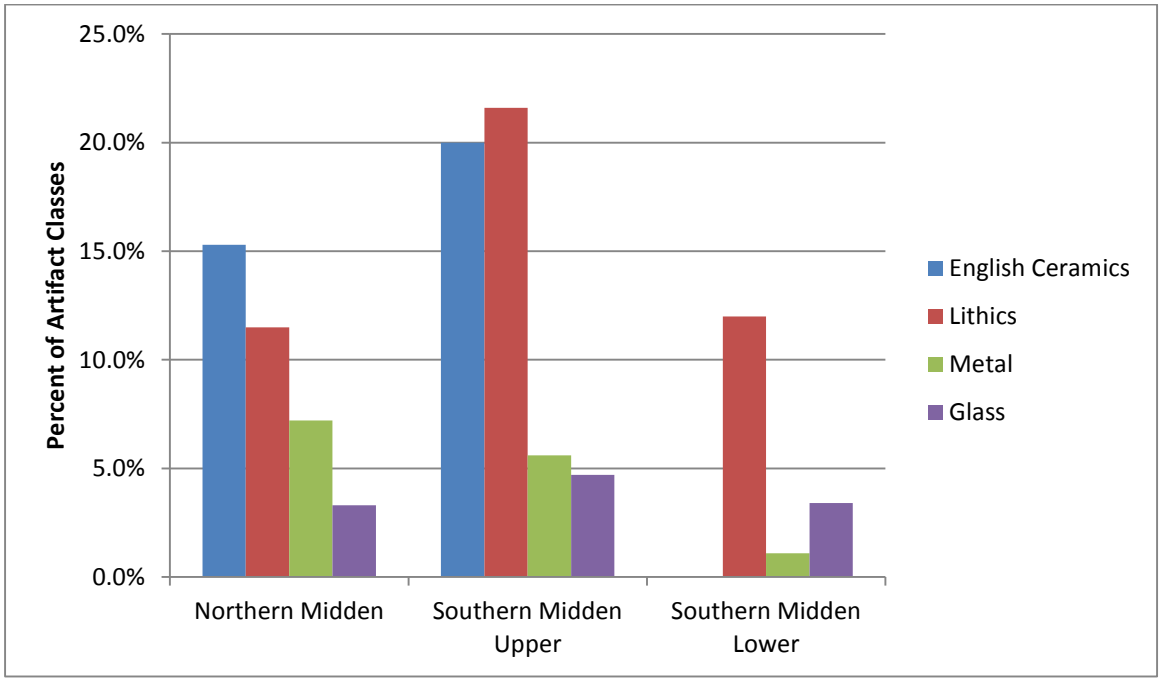

Figure 6-37: Percentages of English ceramics, lithic, metal, and glass artifacts according to context (adapted from Figueroa and Mauldin 2005: 91)[32].

[32] Figueroa and Mauldin included burned rock in their "lithic" category. I did not because I do not recognize burned rock in an analogous functional category as lithics, metal, or glass.

Faunal bone is the most common artifact class in the 41BX1598 collection and CAR collected 13,368 pieces of vertebrate bone primarily from the Northern and Southern Middens. Like the two previous collections discussed, the materials recovered from 41BX1598 are fragmentary and as a result, CAR analysts were unable to identify over 91 percent of the collection beyond indeterminate mammal (n=12,023), bird (n=162), and fish (n=24; ibid.: 67). Similarly, of the identified specimens, CAR analysts attributed 24.9 percent of the collection to the order, Artiodactyla (deer, goat or sheep; n=289) and 44.9 percent to the subfamily, Bovinae (cattle or bison; n=520). Of the remaining specimens identified to the species level (n=350), nearly 65 percent are domesticated taxa including cattle (n=114), sheep/goat (n=38), sheep (n=29), chicken (n=21), and pig (n=13). CAR identified a wide variety of specimens representing wild taxa including whitetail deer (n=44), bison (n=35), and peccary (n=10). The collection contains relatively little evidence of riverine resources and is limited to samples of catfish (n=4), flathead catfish (n=1), and turtles (n=4). Although the report documents that mussel shells were recovered from nearly every level in both middens, the faunal analysis does not include a discussion of the recovered mussel shell and unfortunately the specimens were discarded prior to curation because they possessed "little scientific value" (ibid.: 37).

CAR's analysis of the 41BX1598 faunal collection was much more exhaustive than the sampling effort of the 41BX1753 collection. As a more complete analysis, the results from 41BX1598 may correct for sampling biases associated with the 41BX1753 collection and may represent diet in San Antonio during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries more accurately. Specifically, riverine resources are not a significant part of the 41BX1598 collection which may be a result of household preference, but may also be overrepresented in the 41BX1753 collection due to the sampling methodology. On the other hand, CAR analysts employed a methodology that did not specify the relative sizes of the indeterminate mammals (i.e. small, medium, and large mammals), and as such the analysis underrepresents the variation within the collection. Although CAR analysts did not identify the

relative sizes of the indeterminate specimens, they did identify a trend that suggests "changes in diet through time within the three midden contexts" using the relative sizes of the identified specimens (ibid.: 91). According to the data, small-sized animals dominate the collection from the lower deposit of the Southern Midden, medium-sized animals comprise the majority of specimens in the upper midden deposit of the Southern Midden, and large and very large animals, primarily cattle, represent nearly 60 percent of the Northern Midden deposit (Figure 6-38). From these data CAR analysts concluded that the drastic increase in large to very large animals in the later deposits reflects "a significant reduction in diet breadth [that] may have occurred throughout this period, as later deposits contained primarily large-sized animals" in contrast to "the earlier deposits, where a large percentage of the diet appears to have been comprised of smaller body sized animals" (ibid.: 95).

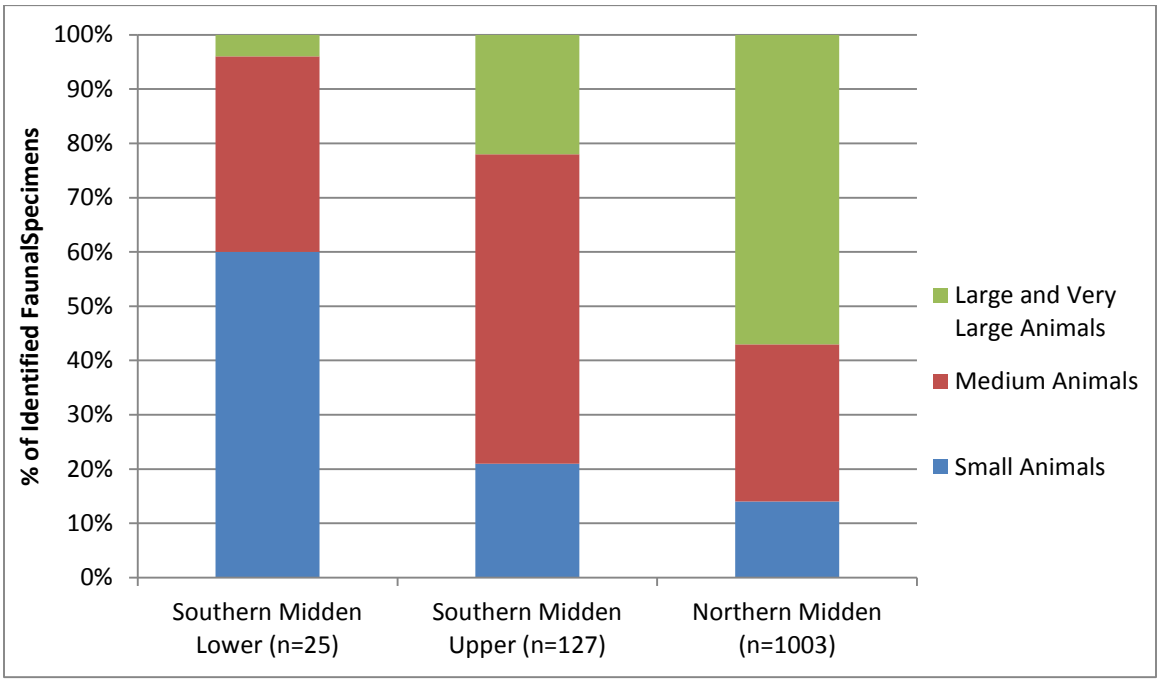

Figure 6-38: Proportions of identified faunal specimens by relative size according to midden contexts (adapted from Figueroa and Mauldin 2005: 92)

Based on the data presented above, Figueroa and Mauldin concluded that the lower deposit in the Southern Midden "may have begun forming prior to 1700," and that the archaeological record at 41BX1598 reflects over 200 years of occupation (ibid.: 95). My opinion is much more conservative and I

believe that the Northern Midden and the upper deposit in the Southern Midden are contemporary with each other as well as with the Delgado Cistern and date to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As will be discussed below, the collection from the lower deposit of the Southern Midden appears to be very similar to the earliest deposits at the Spanish Governor's Palace with the exception of two sherds of Puebla Blue on White II and a sherd of majolica belonging to the Aranama Polychrome tradition that CAR archaeologists recovered from relatively deep levels of Unit 6 indicating that the majority of the deposit was formed sometime in the late eighteenth century[33]. The section below compares the data from 41BX1753 with the collections from 41BX1598 and 41BX179 and attempts to clarify the temporal context of each deposit relative to each other. Furthermore, I evaluate the collections and try to determine the attributes of these collections that are characteristic of each time period and discuss the implications that these materials may have played in shaping the regional identity.

Conclusion

Like the 41BX179 collection, the 41BX1753 collection is modest in size, but when compared with the data from 41BX1598 and 41BX179, the site provides important evidence for late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries occupation in San Antonio that can be directly tied to an important family in the community's history during a period that was integral in the formation of a regional identity. Like the previous chapter, my evaluation of the Delgado Cistern collection and reevaluation of the Núñez-Arocha Middens collection was an effort to refine the archaeological chronologies of the late Colonial period in San Antonio and to establish the distinctive characteristics of turn-of-the-century assemblages

[33] CAR analysts identified the Aranama Polychrome (1750-1850) type sherd (Cat No. 142-005, Unit 6, Level 11, 80-90 cmbd) as nineteenth-century Guanajuato Polychrome (Figueroa and Mauldin 2005: 89). However, the specimen is a small body sherd with an unidentified yellowish-brown decoration on cream background that displays no diagnostic attributes distinct to Guanajuato Polychrome. Because two sherds of Puebla Blue on White II (1775-1800) were also recovered Unit 6 (Level 6, 30-40 cmbd and Level 8, 50-60 cmbd) I chose to classify Cat No. 142-005 as Aranama Polychrome.

in San Antonio and the discrete qualities of the collections that may have had a role in subject formation.

Figure 6-39 presents the MCDs and the adjusted ranges (+15 and 30 years) from each deposit in the order they were discussed[34] and reveals that although there is likely considerable overlap between most of the deposits, in general the 41BX179 MCDs are clustered around 1760 while the 41BX1753, Unit 5 assemblage and the 41BX1598 assemblages are all clustered around 1790. The only outlier among the deposits is the 41BX1753, Unit 3 which dates to 1796.03. As discussed above and in previous chapters, the temporally diagnostic decorated MCDs (not depicted in Figure 6-39) for each assemblage tends to be slightly later than the overall MCDs, but these data do not significantly alter the general conclusion based on the ceramic assemblages: the 41BX179 deposits are older than the 41BX1753 and 41BX1598 assemblages, while the 41BX1598 and Unit 5 deposits are likely contemporaneous and overlap, and the Unit 3 deposit is the latest.

[34] The 41BX179 data only include the assemblages from the "18th century" or "Colonial" deposits defined by the original authors as presented in Chapter 5, and the Unit A data reflect an average for all "deposits determined to be "eighteenth century". I also did not include the 41BX7 collection because the contexts of the collection are unclear.

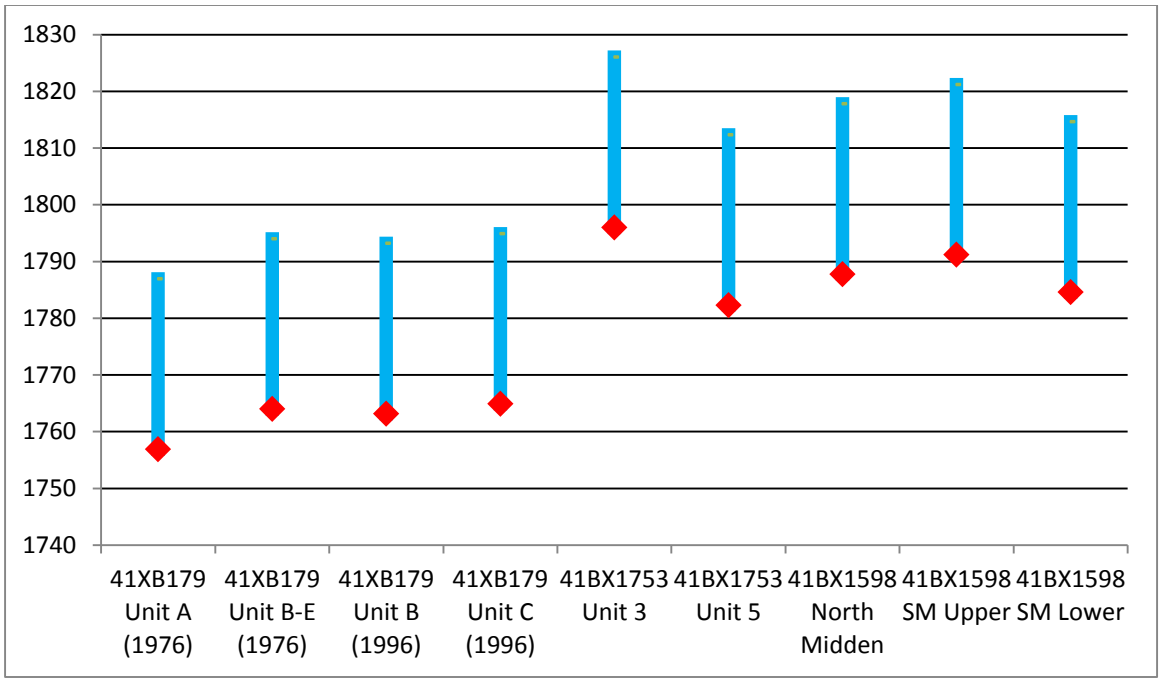

Figure 6-39: MCDs from units at 41BX179 and 41BX1753 and midden deposits at 41BX1598.

Along the same lines, Figure 6-40 depicts the proportions of ceramic types according to origin for each assemblage. In contrast to the MCD data, the data below indicate that the lower deposit of the Southern Midden resembles the 41BX179 assemblages, an observation that is based primarily on the absence of English ceramics. However, the proportion of Goliad Ware in the lower deposit actually more closely resembles the proportions found at 41BX1753 and the Northern Midden at 41BX1598 than the 41BX179 or 41BX7 collections. This observation conforms to the MCD data presented above and more reasonably explains the presence of the sherds of Puebla Blue in White II and the Aranama Polychrome type in the lower deposit. More important, the data indicate that the assemblages from Unit 5 (41BX1753), the Northern Midden, and the upper deposit of the Southern Midden most closely resemble each other in terms of proportional composition. This is not surprising since the respective assemblages are characterized by late eighteenth and early nineteen centuries majolica types including Monterey Polychrome, Guanajuato Polychrome, San Elizario Polychrome, and Tumacacori Polychrome as well as English Annularware, Edgeware, Early Transfer Printed ware and early hand painted ceramics.

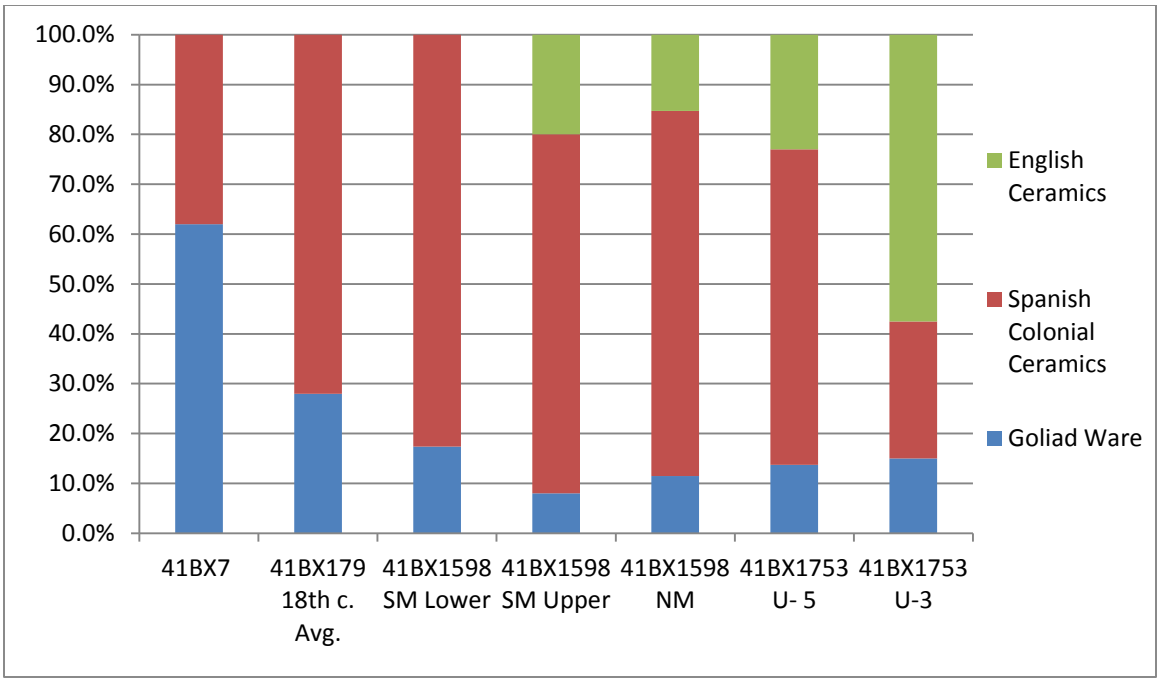

Figure 6-40: Proportional composition of ceramics assemblages according to origin.

In their analysis presented above, CAR suggested that "metal and glass artifacts increasingly replaced lithics later in time" (ibid.: 90). Figure 6-41 depicts the percentages of artifact classes from each assemblage and while there appears to be a slight correlation between an increase in metal and glass artifacts and a general decrease in lithics, glass artifacts remain an overall small percentage of each assemblage and only exceed five percent in the Unit 3 assemblage, which may date to as late as the end of the Mexican Era. Furthermore, as mentioned above, the percentage of lithics in the upper deposit of the Southern Midden is almost twice that of the lower deposit while the proportions of the two artifact classes are much more even in the Northern Midden and heavily weighted towards lithic artifacts in the lower deposit of the Southern Midden. Similarly, lithic artifacts comprise a greater percentage of artifacts in the Unit 3 collection than in the Unit 5 collection, an increase over time that is paired with an increase in metal and glass artifacts. In short, there does not appear to be a direct correlation between increases in glass and metal items and the decrease in lithic artifacts. Instead, what the data suggest is

despite an increase in glass and metal items lithic artifacts remained a significant percentage of the assemblages over time.

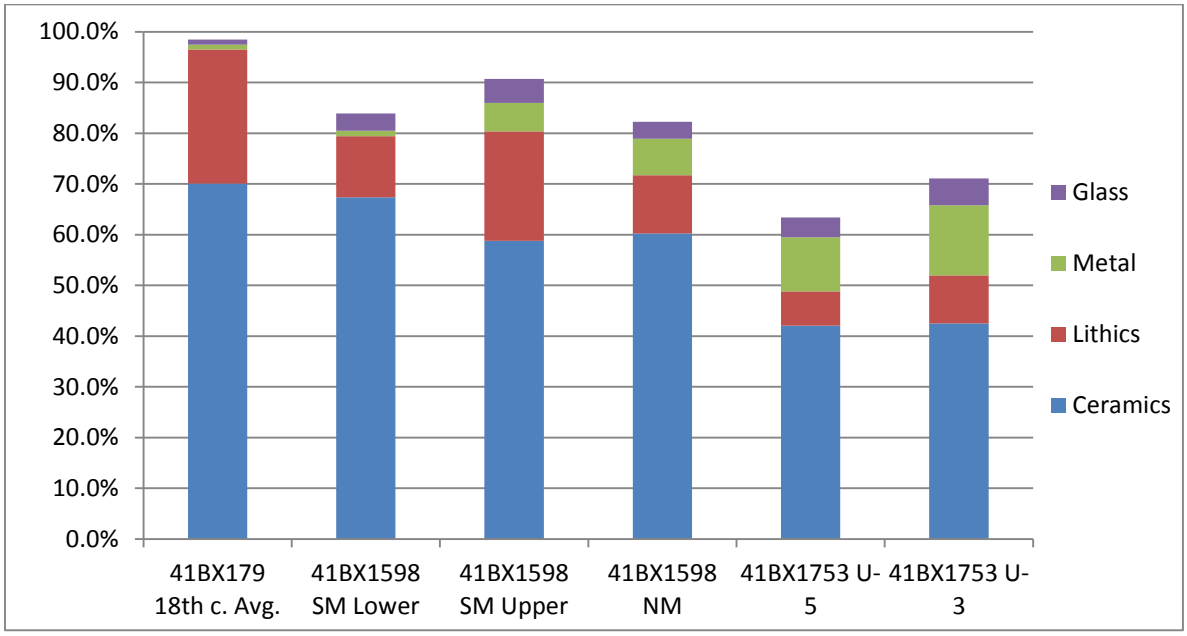

Figure 6-41: Percentages of nonbone artifact classes from each collection.

Similarly, CAR concluded that the 41BX1598 assemblage provided evidence for a shift in diet over time because the drastic increase in large to very large animals in the later deposits reflects "a significant reduction in diet breadth [that] may have occurred throughout this period, as later deposits contained primarily large-sized animals" in contrast to "the earlier deposits, where a large percentage of the diet appears to have been comprised of smaller body sized animals" (ibid.: 95). While this trend fit nicely with the 41BX1598 data, when compared against the 41BX179 and 41BX1753 faunal data, there does appear to be a decrease in the proportion of small animals over time, but it is not correlated with an increase in the proportion of large animals (Figure 6-42). In fact, the 41BX179 "Colonial" age collection from the 1996 excavation has the second highest proportion of large animals out of all the deposits investigated in the area despite being one of the earliest. More appropriately, the data indicate that small animals became a less significant part of diet over time and were replaced by both

large and medium mammals, of which the latter was a much more significant part of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries diet than previously thought. Furthermore, this evidence contradicts CAR's conclusion that during this period there was a "significant reduction in diet breadth" when medium mammals represent a wide range of both wild and domesticated animals including whitetail deer, peccary, sheep, goat, and pigs. Similarly, while the data speak to a change in diet over time, many of the aspects of the eighteenth century diet recognized in the 41BX179 collections, including high proportions of riverine resources and cattle were present in all the deposits, indicate that a certain level of stability was maintained between the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries' diet.

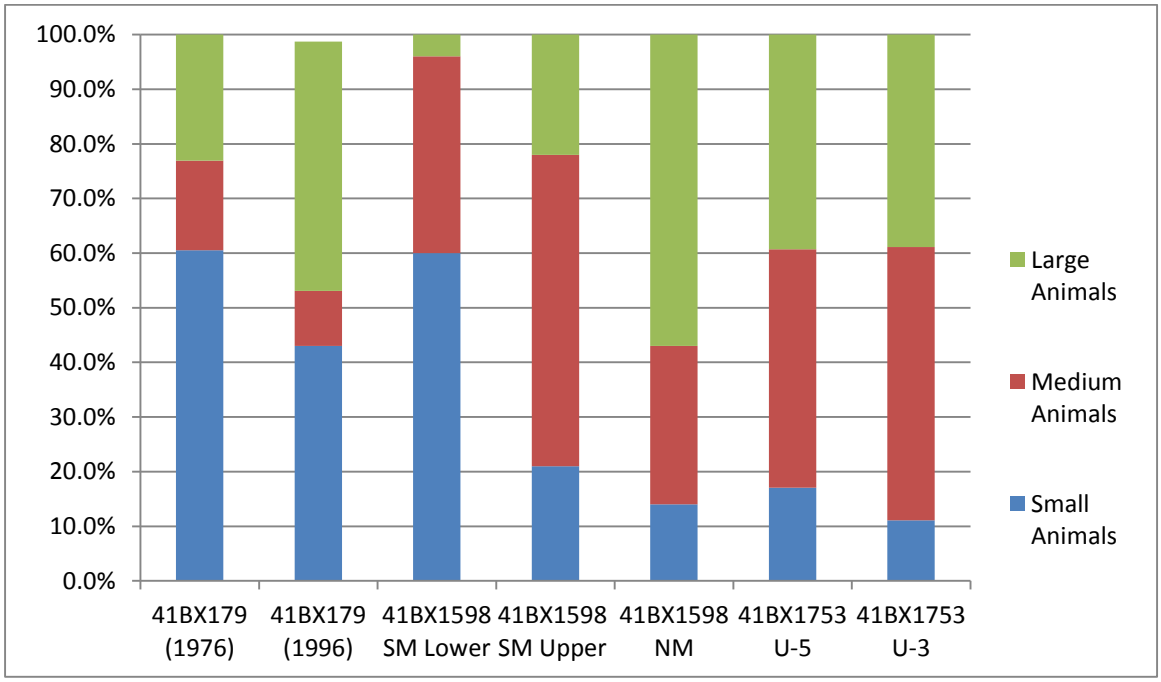

Figure 6-42: Proportions of faunal bone according to animal size from each collection.

The archaeological and archival evidence suggest that the Delgado Cistern and the Núñez-Arocha Middens provide exceptional insight into the daily lives of two influential families in the community during an important period in the region's history. The turn of the century was a period in which prominent families and social hierarchies were well established in *Béxar,* as were local customs

and distinct identities. However, the period is also defined by change. Political revolt in Mexico and the arrival of Anglo-Americans in Louisiana sparked revolution in *Béxar,* and if the Delgado and Arocha families are any indication, then elite *Béxareño* families were directly involved in this revolution.

It is no surprise then that the archaeological record during this period displays both stability and change. The change recognized in the archaeological record is almost certainly linked to new trade opportunities associated with the expanded Anglo-American presence in Louisiana. At both 41BX1753 and 41BX1598 there is a clear increase in English ceramics over time that generally correlates to an increase in metal objects, and to an extent with glass artifacts. However, evidence from these sites indicate that traditions established in the eighteenth century continued during this period of revolution and these enduring material practices were just as integral to shaping identity during this period. Goliad Ware and to a lesser extent, coarse earthenware remained constant over time while evidence of lithic tools and technologies persisted. These data indicate that despite an influx of new goods from the east, local technologies and traditions established in the eighteenth century endured. Similarly, although the evidence suggests that characteristics of diet changed over time, many of the aspects of diet established in the eighteenth century continued into the nineteenth century.

The archaeological and archival records indicate stability and change and are underlain by internal and external forces that acted on the community to realign concepts of identity. The continued use of local goods and resources as well as the persistence of local traditions and technologies surely reinforced identities and social hierarchies established in the eighteenth century. Meanwhile, the introduction of Anglo-American traders and goods was inextricably tied to international politics. *Béxareño*s' participation in this new trade network likely took place at various levels and accordingly could have reshaped how individuals and the community perceived themselves at both local and international scales. The influx of new goods not available during the eighteenth century may have

introduced new practices or altered existing ones and as a result, the goods themselves likely acted on *Béxareño*s to create and demonstrate new senses of identity. Furthermore, *Béxareños*' direct participation in illicit and legal trade with Anglo-Americans on the frontier likely reshaped aspects of identity based in ideas of nationalism and may have influenced individuals to take an active role in the revolution. While the period is probably best defined by the revolution, the material culture instead demonstrates a level of stability to balance the change. Likewise, *Tejanos* had to balance personal, community, regional, national, and international interests during this period, which would have certainly affected how they viewed themselves and how they were perceived by their countrymen and Anglo-Americans.

Chapter 7 : The Padrón-Cháves Midden and Siege of *Béxar* Entrenchment: 41BX1752

Introduction

Like 41BX1753, I served as the project archaeologist for the investigations at 41BX1752 during the Main Plaza Renovation Project in the spring of 2007[35]. The site is located at the southeast corner of the Main Plaza along the relatively undeveloped Dolorosa Street east of its intersection with Dwyer Avenue and west of the San Antonio River flood diversion cut off canal (Figure 7-1). We conducted an intensive backhoe survey along the storm water drain footprint prior to the initiation of construction activities and encountered 41BX1752 within the second exploratory backhoe trench (Storm Water Trench [SWT] 2/2B) excavated. The site was initially recognized as a zone of very dark gray clay approximately 148 cmbs that contained a variety of eighteenth and nineteenth century artifacts and faunal material. The zone was designated as Old Dolorosa Feature (ODF) 1 and in an effort to further examine this deposit we excavated another backhoe trench (SWT 6/6B) directly to the west where we recognized a section of a light gray (10YR 7/2) clay loam (ODF 2) within the already observed ODF 1 midden deposit. ODF 2 spanned the width (north–south) of SWT 6 and 6B, measured approximately two meters east to west, and displayed relatively straight and abrupt boundary lines delineating ODF 2 within ODF 1.

Further observation revealed that ODF 2 was actually composed of two soil types: approximately a half meter of the light gray (10YR 7/2) clay loam and marl subsoil on the east portion, and one and a half meters m of dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) clay loam making up the west portion. The presence of abrupt, straight boundary lines and the observation that the ODF 2 soils closely resembled natural soils, only

[35] Hanson, Casey 2016. *Archaeological Investigations for the Main Plaza Redevelopment Project, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas.* Document No. 150023. Atkins Austin, Texas.

mixed, led to the determination that ODF 2 most likely represented a previously excavated ditch that was subsequently backfilled using the same excavated midden soils.

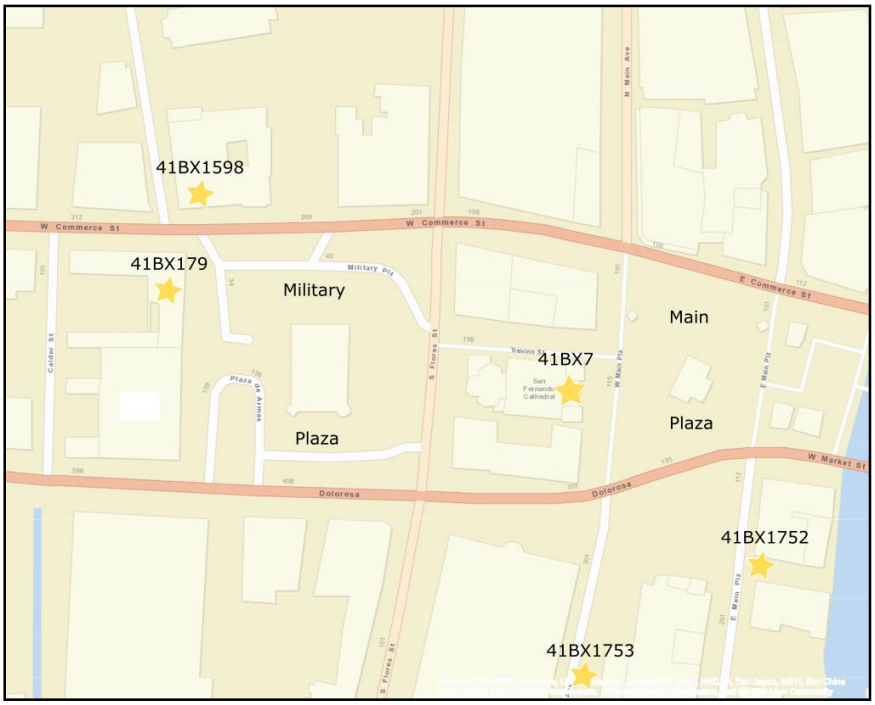

Figure 7-1: Location of 41BX1752 in relation to other case study sites.

This determination prompted the City Archaeologist, Kay Hindes, to hypothesize that ODF 2 might represent a fortification trench of some sort associated with the Siege of *Béxar* in 1835. Previous archaeological investigations by CAR located similar fortification features at La Villita (Labadie 1986) and the Alamo Plaza (Fox 1992), both of which the City Archaeologist personally observed. State Antiquities Landmark (SAL)-eligibility testing and data recovery investigations at 41BX1752 and subsequent archival analysis confirmed that trench feature (ODF 2) was a Mexican military entrenchment associated with General Martín Perfecto de Cos' occupation of the Main Plaza during the Siege of *Béxar*. More important, in the process of delineating the military entrenchment, our excavations also collected a wealth of data from a domestic midden feature (ODF 1) that was used by the Padrón-Cháves family during a period in the nineteenth century until the 1835 Siege of *Béxar*.

Like the Delgado and Arocha families, the Padróns were *Isleños* and the tract adjacent to 41BX1752 was originally granted to the fifth Canary Islander family in the 1730s. However, unlike the previous sites discussed, their descendant who occupied the tract, Maria Juana Francisca Padrón married an outsider, Francisco X. Cháves, a descendant of Pedro Gómez Durán y Cháves and the extremely influential Cháves family from New Mexico (Wade 1998: 142). Francisco X. Cháves used his family name to integrate himself into *Béxar*'s social hierarchy and shortly after arriving he married into one of the region's most prestigious families and became a presidial interpreter. Over the next few decades Francisco X. Cháves established himself as a prominent individual in the community as well as on the frontier while his family established a presence that occupied an entire block on the east side of the Main Plaza until the twentieth century.

Because the midden deposit is located in the middle of a city street the following chapter begins with an archival investigation that establishes the notion that the Padrón-Cháves family were likely the only occupants of the southeast corner of the Main Plaza during the period in which the midden deposit formed, and as a result they are associated with its formation. Similarly, the archival investigation also provides evidence to support that a Mexican military entrenchment was situated at the location during the Siege of *Béxar* in 1835. These sections are followed by a summary of the field efforts and a presentation of the artifact collection, both of which lend further support to the social and chronological contexts of the two features and reveal that these data chronologically pick up where the Delgado Cistern and Núñez-Arocha midden data left off. This collection is then briefly compared with similar collections recovered from Texas War of Independence-era military entrenchments from the Alamo Plaza (41BX6) and La Villita (41BX677) as well as the collections from the previous chapters. Through these comparisons I conclude that at the transition to and during the Mexican Period, imported goods played an even more significant role in the Padrón-Cháves household, and while the collection also contains the vestiges of the material traditions established during the eighteenth, the evidence suggests that the drastic social,

economic, and political changes that occurred during the Mexican Era also influenced material practices at the household level and helped reshape *Béxareño* and *Tejano* identity.

Archival History

41BX1752 is situated on the north side of Dolorosa Street, immediately east of its intersection with present-day Dwyer Avenue (Figure 7-1). As a result, the following archival study examines the history of Dolorosa Street as well as the lots of land that front onto the north and south sides of Dolorosa at this location. Furthermore, because the ditch feature at 41BX1752 is thought to be associated with the Siege of *Béxar*, a more intensive archival examination of the site and the Main Plaza in general is explored in this context at the end of this section.

The origins for the name of Dolorosa Street are uncertain, although theories exist suggesting that the name is derived either from the sadness of the mourners who witnessed the mass executions on Military Plaza following the 1813 revolution, or that Dolorosa was the road that led to Mexico from which soldiers never returned, or more simply that it was named after the Virgin Mary, Our Lady of the Sorrows. Although the origins of the street's name are inconclusive, the streets at each corner of the Main Plaza were features of Antonio Perez Almazán's original plaza survey in 1731, each measuring 13 1/3 *varas* wide and delineating the villa's blocks (Spell 1962:84). Luis Antonio Menchaca's 1764 *Mapa Presidio De San Antonio de Bexar* depicts the path corresponding to Dolorosa Street as an extension of the Camino Real del Rio Grande at the bottom of the map that extends across the south side of the Military and Main Plaza (Figure 7-2). Menchaca does not delineate Dolorosa east of the Main Plaza as it appears that the path south of the plaza and correlating to present-day Villita Street was the path that crossed the San Antonio River south of the big bow at "the peninsula" and led to Mission Valero. Alternatively, as seen on the map below, José de Urrutia depicted the path corresponding to present-day Dolorosa Street three years later

in 1767 as a path that originated at the southeast corner of the Main Plaza and ran along the north side of the bow to a river crossing leading directly to Mission Valero (Figure 7-3).

Figure 7-2: 1764 *Mapa Presidio De San Antonio de Béxar* by Luis Antonio Menchaca. A: Spanish Governor's Palace (41BX179); B: Plaza de Armas; C: San Fernando Cathedral (41BX7); D: Plaza de las Islas; E: Delgado House (41BX1753); F: Núñez-Arocha House (41BX1598); G: Padrón-Cháves Midden (41BX1752): H: Barrio del Potrero (Menchaca 1764, Courtesy of John Carter Brown Library at Brown University).

Figure 7-3: Detail of José Ramón de Urrutia y de las Casas' 1767 "San Antonio de Vejar" map depicting A: Casa del Presidio; B: Casa del Capitan; C: Cuerpo de Guardia; D: Plaza de la Villa; E: Casa Reales; F: Iglesia (Foster et al. 2006).

While these two early maps show two different routes for Dolorosa, they both depict what appear to be domestic structures located at the southeast corner of the Main Plaza both directly north and south of present-day Dolorosa Street. Like Dolorosa Street, the lots adjacent to the path were laid out during Almazán's survey and were subsequently granted to Canary Island settlers, José de la Concepcion Padrón (1708–1769) and Maria Sanabria (1710–1769) to the north and Juan Leal Goraz (1676–1743) to the south. To avoid confusion, this archival study will first discuss the property history for the north lot, or New City Block (146) and then the south tract, NCB 118 (see below).

NCB 146

According to Chabot, the *suerte* originally granted to José de la Concepcion Padrón [1708-1769] and Maria Sanabria [1710-1769] as the fifth Canary Islander family measured 30 by 30 *varas*, fronted onto the east side of the Main Plaza and was bounded on the north by the street where the Casas Reales was located, on the south "by the street on which were the houses of the deceased Juan Leal Goras [sic]," and

on the east by uncultivated lands (Chabot 1937:161). José and Maria had seven children while living in *Béxar*, and most likely occupied the subject tract until 1745 when, according Chabot, they sold the tract to Antonio Ximenes [unknown-unknown], a resident of the presidio (*vecino agregado*). I could not locate documentation of this transaction, and was unable to find any information about Antonio Ximenes. However, it appears that sometime before 1783, José and Maria Padrón's son, Juan José Francisco Padrón [1734 to before 1783] and his wife, Antonia de Armas [ca. 1742 to after 1803], daughter of Canary Island settlers Martin Lorenzo de Armas [1710-1769] and Maria Robaina de Bethéncourt [1703-1779], bought a number of tracts from Antonio Ximenes that corresponded to the location of the orginal Padrón tract, but when combined, composed an entire block and measured 42 *varas* wide and 60 *varas* deep (Armas 1783).

It is unclear if José and Antonia Padrón occupied the tract, and the only existing record that ties them to the tract from their time as owners of the property is a 1783 transaction when Antonia, now a widow, sold a small parcel from the larger tract to Pedro José Tejada for 83 pesos (Armas 1783). The Tejada parcel fronted onto the east side of the Main Plaza, measured 7 *varas* wide and 14 *varas* deep, and was bounded on the north and east by the Padrón's solar and on the south by the "the street running east to west," placing the Tejada tract at the northeast corner of present-day Dolorosa and Dwyer Avenues, and immediately north of 41BX1752 (Armas 1783). The only information I could locate regarding Pedro José Tejada was that he was a resident of San Antonio in the 1780s and that he was married to Juana Francisca Perez, whom he charged with adultery in 1782 (Benavides 1989). It seems probable that the small lot purchased from Antonia Padrón would serve as Pedro's residence as it fronted onto the plaza that was the primary residential area in the villa in the eighteenth century. However, Pedro José Tejada does not appear in the 1790 San Fernando Census, suggesting that if he did live on the subject tract, it was only for a short period of time. Antonio de Armas, a 50-year-old widow, appears as a resident of the villa in 1790, living with his daughter, Juana (25) and her son, José Manuel (19). Although it is not clear if

Juana was living on the subject tract, their ages indicate that the census data were gathered in 1792 (Gibson 1790: 12).

There is a considerable gap in the history of the subject tract from Tejada's acquisition of his small parcel in 1783 until November 11, 1818 when Francisco Xavier Cháves (1762–1832) filed a petition for property lost during the Anglo-American invasion in 1813 including 112 pesos for the 14 months that his house was occupied by order of the governor (Cháves 1818). As suggested in the previous chapter, the Crown confiscated numerous houses and properties from rebels associated with the 1813 Revolution and the Battle of Medina, but there is no evidence indicating that Francisco was a rebel, and instead, the evidence suggests that he was in the Spanish military during the revolution. While the 1818 petition does not specify the location of his house, in a subsequent record dated September 20, 1819 the government awarded Francisco X. Cháves, a soldier in the La Bahia Presidio Company, and resident of San Antonio, the rights to a piece of property and house situated on the Main Plaza (BCDR E-1:86). The 1819 document states that Francisco's ownership of the tract was confirmed based on evidence in the archives stating that his ancestors were awarded the property as original settlers (*los primeros pobladores de esta cuidad y Presidio*) and then describes a tract that generally corresponds to the Padrón *solar* mentioned above measuring 40 *varas* wide and 72 *varas* deep, fronting onto the east side of the plaza and bounded on the north and south by streets going to the plaza (*calles por que va a la plaza*), and to the east by the lands of Francisco Bueno and Pedro Longoville (BCDR E-1:86).

Francisco X. Cháves was not a descendant of *Béxar*'s *pobladores*, but was actually a native of Atrisco, New Mexico, and the great grandson of Pedro Gómez Durán y Cháves [1566-1630] one of New Mexico's original settlers who arrived with Oñate's expedition in 1598 (Cháves 1800; Wade 1998). The Cháves family was (and is) a prominent family in New Mexico and Francisco's paternal side is associated with the region's most powerful military men and politicians while his grandmother, Juana Baca was the

great-granddaughter of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado and claimed to be a descendant of Cabeza de Vaca (Cháves 1800). Francisco X. Cháves however did not grow up in New Mexico, but instead was kidnapped by the Comanche when he was 7 years old and grew up among the Comanche and Taovayas until he escaped to *Béxar* in 1784. Shortly after arriving Francisco became an interpreter in the presidial company and in 1785 he joined Pedro Vial [unknown-1814] in the Comancheria living among the eastern Comanches (Chipman 2016; Gibson 2014f).

Although Francisco could claim *pobladores* status, his claim to the subject tract was instead through marriage, as he was the third husband of Maria Juana Francisca Padrón [1767-1817], the youngest daughter of José and Antonia Padrón who was living with her widow mother, Antonia in the 1790 Census (see above). Francisco was on leave for three months in New Mexico in 1792, likely why he does not appear in the same household as Juana in the 1790 Census, as evidence indicates the couple lived together in *Béxar* from the time they married in 1786 until at least 1810 when their twelfth child was born in San Fernando (Gibson 1790; Gibson 2014f; Gibson 2014g). Furthermore, Francisco Cháves (indeterminate) and Juana Padrón (34) appear in the 1803 Census as a married couple living in San Antonio with their five sons (13, 12, 10, 4, 2), two daughters (16 and 7), Juana's widow mother, Antonia de Armas (55), and their three servants, Raphael Gonzales (32), a Spaniard, and Guadalupe (20) and Trinidad (4), Indians (Gibson 2014f).

Although it is unclear where they were living at the time, the record indicates that the Cháves family did not occupy the subject tract for 14 months after the 1813 revolution from about August 1813 to October 1814. This evidence suggests that the 1819 document that awarded the subject tract to Francisco may have been a result of his wife passing (March 6, 1817) without a will and not a result of his participation in the revolution as a rebel. It is instead likely that the Cháves family occupied the subject tract before Francisco was awarded the rights to the property in 1819 as his daughter, Maria Trinidad

Cháves married Joaquin del Mages in *Béxar* in 1814 and Francisco's wife Juana died in San Antonio on March 6, 1817, evidence that the family lived in the villa after 1814 (Gibson 2014g).

It is clear that Francisco continued to live in *Béxar* and likely on the subject tract after being awarded the rights to the property and the house in 1819. In 1820 Francisco married his second wife, Micaela Fragoso [1794–1849], daughter of José Fragoso and Maria Quinones, in San Antonio and had five more children, all born in *Béxar* (Gibson 2014g). Francisco died in 1832 at the age of 70, and while I was unable to locate his will, a transaction recorded in the same year names E. Ignacio Cháves the executor of Francisco's estate and the representative of his heirs, and documents the sale of the 18 *vara* wide and 78 *vara* deep "north strip" of the Padrón-Cháves tract to Ignacio's brother in-law, Juan José Montes de Oca [1782-unknown] his sister, Maria Gertrudis Eugenia Cháves' [1801–unknown] husband[36] (BCDR E-1:86). This deed record describes the north strip as containing a house with a living room and a bedroom located on the east side of the Main Plaza, bounded on the east by the land where Juan Veramendi had his *Chamacuero*, on the north by Carcel Street and on the south by the house and lot of Josefa Menchaca. It is likely that Juan José Montes de Oca and his wife occupied the north strip prior to purchasing the rights in 1832 as the house already existed at the time and the couple had been married since 1818.

Josefa Menchaca [between 1805-1809-unknown] and her sister Gertrudis Menchaca [between 1806-1808-unknown], inherited divided interests of the middle strip of the Padrón-Cháves tract from their parents, Margarita Cháves[37] [1786-1810] and Juan Menchaca [1778-unknown] sometime before 1827 when Gertrudis sold her half-interest in the middle strip to Josefa and to her husband, José Antonio de la Garza, the eventual owner of the 41BX1753 tract discussed in the previous chapter (BCDR F1:123). The transaction between Gertrudis and Josefa describes the middle strip as their deceased parents' house

[36] Ignacio Cháves was also married to Juan José Montes de Oca's sister, Maria Leonarda Montes de Oca (1792–1881)

[37] Maria Juana Francisca Padrón and Francisco X. Cháves's first born child

(constructed of wood) and a lot that fronted 16 *varas* onto the Main Plaza and extended east to the street that runs to the river, clearly indicating that Juan and Margarita owned the middle strip and were living there together before Francisco X. Cháves' death in 1832. It is unlikely that Josefa Menchaca and her husband, José Antonio de la Garza, occupied the middle strip, as the couple lived at his family's residence located at the corner of Acequia and Veramendi Streets (see Chapter 6).

It appears that Francisco's widow, Micaela Fragoso, may have occupied the south strip, and the property directly north of 41BX1752 following her husband's death in 1832 until she died in 1849. While Micaela's will does not mention the south strip or any properties for that matter, the document does name her four surviving children as the heirs to her estate, whom the following year, sold the south strip with the unspecified buildings and improvements thereon to Thomas Jefferson Devine [1820–1890] for $900 (Bexar County Probate Minutes No. 233; BCDR I-1:544). As with the north and middle strip, it is also likely that Francisco Cháves and his second wife, Micaela lived on the south strip prior to Francisco's death, and as such, it is also possible that Francisco lived on the south strip with his first wife, Juana Padron on a tract that generally corresponds to the parcel acquired by Pedro José Tejada in 1783.

Thomas Devine was an influential judge and politician in nineteenth century San Antonio, but was only a recent arrival when he purchased the subject tract in 1850. According to Chabot, by 1850 Devine lived on South Flores Street and owned a plantation outside of town indicating that Devine never lived on the tract (Chabot 1937:322). Furthermore, he owned the subject tract for less than two years and sold the south strip of the Padrón/Cháves tract to Samuel Luckie in March 1852 for $1,000 (BCDR K-1:507). Samuel Luckie sold the south strip five days after acquiring it from Devine to John Bowen for $1,200 (BCDR K-1:558). John Bowen, formerly known as Ralph William Peacock, was the United States Post Master and City Treasurer in San Antonio during the 1850s and lived on the lot originally granted to the Curbelo family located one block south of the subject tract at the intersection of Quinta (Dwyer) and Villita Streets

(Chabot 1937:351). John Bowen sold the south strip of the Padrón-Cháves tract only three years later in 1855 to Juan José Montes de Oca, owner of the north strip (see above; BCDR N-1:286). These four successive transactions in the early 1850s describe the south strip as "the lot of land and the improvements thereon [situated] on the east side of the street running south from the south east corner of the public square [and] fronting 29 ft. on said street thence running east 70 *varas* more or less and bounded on the south by a street running parallel with the San Antonio River, bounded on the east by the lot formerly owned by F. Longoville and on the north by a lot belonging to the heirs of José Antonio de la Garza, deceased," indicating that Dolorosa may still have been an unnamed street in the 1850s (BCDR N-1:286).

Juan José Montes de Oca [1782-1857] was the grandson of Juan José Montes de Oca [1720-1791] a native of Cuba who came to San Antonio in 1741 and married Marcela de la Pena [1729-1760], the daughter of presidial settlers, Manuel Pena and Laura Castro (Gibson 2014h). As mentioned above, the Juan José Montes de Oca who purchased the south strip in 1855 was the husband of Maria Gertrudis Eugenia Cháves [1801-unknown] who acquired the north strip of the Padrón-Cháves tract after Francisco's death in 1832 (BCDR E-1:86). Juan José Montes de Oca was one of three siblings who married the children of Francisco and Juana Cháves, which indicate strong ties between the Cháves and Montes de Oca families, which may be one reason that Juan José Montes de Oca acquired the south strip when he was a 73-year-old man. Juan José Montes de Oca died two years after acquiring the south strip, and in his will he distributed the north and south strips among his heirs. According to his will, the north strip measured 18 *varas* wide and 70 *varas* deep and contained four houses, one of which fronted onto the plaza, while the other three fronted onto "*Calle de la Carcel"* or "*Calle del Calabozo*" (Bexar County Probate Records No. 511). In his will the north strip was split five ways, with a house and solar (18 *varas* wide and 16 *varas* deep) fronting onto the plaza deeded to his daughter, Juana Francisca, a second house and solar (11 *varas* wide 18 *varas* deep) immediately east of the first and fronting onto Carcel Street deeded his to daughter,

Carmel; a third house and solar (13.5 *varas* wide and 18 *varas* deep) fronting onto Carcel Street adjacent to the second went to his daughter, Maria de Jesus. A fourth house and solar (18 *varas* wide and 18 *varas* deep) immediately east of the third parcel and fronting onto the street went to his son, José Maria, and the remaining property (approximately 11.5 *varas* wide and 18 *varas* deep) east of the fourth house and fronting onto the street went to his son, Alejo Montes de Oca (Bexar County Probate Records No. 511).

Juan José Montes de Oca divided the south strip of the Padrón/Cháves tract among his three sons, Antonio, José Maria, and Alejo Montes de Oca. The will describes the tract as fronting 10 *varas* onto the Main Plaza and measuring 70 *varas* deep and being bounded on the south by Dolorosa Street, or the street along the banks of the San Antonio River going to the Mill (*la Calle de la Dolorosa (que [corre] por la orrilla del Rio San Antonio, hacia el Molino*; Bexar County Probate Records No. 511). The parcel fronting onto the Main Plaza measured 10 *varas* wide and 30 *varas* deep and went to Antonio, while José Maria and Alejo each received two smaller parcels, each measuring 10 *varas* by 8 *varas* that were located immediately east of Antonio's tract and fronted onto Dolorosa Street. The remaining 10 *vara* by 24 *vara* lot was divided equally between José Maria and Alejo (Bexar County Probate Records No. 511). Unlike the partitioned lots on the north strip, the will does not mention any structures on the south strip, but as the William G.M. Samuel 1849 painting of the east side of the Main Plaza displays (Figure 7-4), the frontage of the entire Padrón/Cháves tract was developed with adobe structures at the time, with a structure with a pitched roof located at the corner of Dolorosa Street and the Main Plaza (Witte Museum). On the other hand, Juan José Montes de Oca's 1857 will is the first record in the Padrón-Cháves tract history to identify Dolorosa Street and Carcel/Calabozo Street by name, although the document does imply some ambiguity in both street names as Carcel/Calabozo Street clearly has two synonymous names, while Dolorosa Street required a significant amount of explanation in regard to its location.

Figure 7-4: 1849 William G.M. Samuel painting of the east side of the Main Plaza, Padrón-Cháves lot on far right (Samuel 1849a, Courtesy of the Witte Museum, San Antonio Texas).

NCB 118

The records indicate that the property at the southeast corner of the Main Plaza, south of Dolorosa Street and west of present-day Dwyer Avenue was originally granted to Juan Leal Goraz Sr. [1676-1743], the leader of the Canary Island families who was appointed to *alcalde* for life. Goraz Sr.'s first wife, Lucia Hernandez [1685-1730], died in Quautitlan, Mexico while on the journey from Veracruz in 1730. Goraz and Lucia had five children, three of which were married by the time they arrived in *Béxar* and were also granted their lots on the south side of the Main Plaza as original settler families (Chabot 1931:111). Goraz Sr. married his second wife Maria Melian [1696-unknown] in 1733. Maria was the widow of Lucas Delgado [unknown-1730], who also died on the journey to *Béxar*, and the mother of Leonor Delgado [ca. 1726 – ca. 1788] and Juan Delgado [1711-1745] (see previous chapter) who married Goraz Sr.'s children, Bernardo Leal [1717-1751] and Catharina Leal [ca. 1713-1794] (Gibson 2014i) respectively. One of Goraz Sr.'s grandchildren, Josefa Leal [ca. 1731-unknown] also married Maria Melian's youngest

son, Domingo Delgado [1728-1772], suggesting that the Leal and Delgado families were closely linked in the early years of settlement (Gibson 2014i).

The earliest record obtained regarding the subject tract occurred upon the passing of Juan Leal Goraz Sr. in 1743 when his sons, José and Bernardo Leal, were appointed administrators of his estate. On March 4, the Chief Justice of the Royal Presidio, Captain José de Urrutia, conducted an inventory of the deceased's estate, and along with his personal property, the inventory listed "the lands and day of water granted on the terms set forth in the certificate of partition of lands among the Canary Island settlers which were granted to him [Goraz] as one of the founders of San Fernando" (Goraz 1743). This document also reveals that Goraz's son, Bernardo, lived in his father's household prior to his death and continued to do so afterwards.

On May 5, 1743, the Leal brothers officially received their father's property. They were to serve as trustees of the estate for their minor sister Efegenia Leal and until the debts of their father's estate were satisfied. On May 11 of the same year, José Leal appeared before the court again to petition for sole control of the estate on the grounds that his brother was unlawfully disposing of some of the property "and… making personal use of the remainder." The court granted his petition, and all of the property, including two one room stone houses, the agricultural lands, and his father's right to a day of water, were transferred to José the same day (Goraz 1743).

No further record of the property appears until August of 1746, though subsequent records suggest that the stone houses were abandoned during the intervening years. In the 1746 document, Bernardo Leal appeared before the court and disclosed that his brother, José, had been acting as administrator of their father's estate until the debts against it had been satisfied. Bernardo revealed that he had been making payments against the debt since 1743 and had assumed legal responsibility to see that it was paid in full. As a result, he wanted the court to transfer control of all of the property to him so

that it could be converted into cash for payment of the remaining debt. The court approved the petition, and his brother José agreed to transfer the property to Bernardo the same day. The property was re-inventoried at the time, and the tract fronting the plaza was included. The notary indicated that, "of the two rock houses only two walls of one house were standing because Bernardo Leal demolished three walls of the other" (Goraz 1743).

The same month, Bernardo applied for an updated appraisal of the estate claiming that while the property was in the possession of his brother, it "had depreciated to such an extent as to be useless." In the reappraisal, the "demolished houses with their solar, 40 *varas* square were valued at 50 pesos" (Goraz 1743). Despite his intention to sell the property, Bernardo still owned it on August of 1748 when he appeared before the court again. At this point Bernardo was seriously ill and wanted to "surrender said property" and responsibility for the remaining debt to his father's other heirs. The heirs were notified and ordered to appear before the court within 24 hours (Goraz 1743).

After the notification, further conflict among the heirs ensued, particularly regarding the ownership of the houses and property on the plaza. José Leal claimed that his father had built and transferred ownership of the house to his late brother, Vicente, and as a result, it was the property of Vicente's orphaned daughter Rosalia. Three witnesses (Ignacio Lorenso de Armas, Patricio Rodriguez, and Martin Lorenso de Armas) were brought forward to testify, none of who could confirm or refute José's claim. In the end, no compromise could be reached and the remaining heirs, including Efegenia Leal, Catarina Leal, Rosalia Leal, Bernado Leal, and José Leal, were to divide the property, including the real estate, equally among themselves (Goraz 1743).

I was unable to locate any subsequent record related to the subject tract until an 1813 "Appraisal of Rebel Properties" that listed descriptions of real estate and other property confiscated by the Crown from individuals involved in the 1813 revolution that was initiated by the Gutierrez-Magee Expedition and

culminated in the Battle of Medina. The translated version of this document lists the confiscated property of José Manuel Delgado as "a one room stone house on the southern corner of the plaza with 8 1/2 *varas* in frontage and depth to the river, leading to the south, valued at 300 pesos" (Delgado 1813). Francisco Rodriguez's confiscated property is listed directly after José Manuel Delgado's lot and is described as "a one-room stone house situated on the street where the Curbelos live, with 7 *varas* frontage and depth to the river, valued at 250 pesos" (Rodriguez 1813). Many of the rebel properties confiscated in 1813 were auctioned off to raise money for the treasury and other essential needs. However, many of the soldiers who bought these properties at auction could not afford the upkeep of the homes, and as a result the properties were abandoned and fell into disrepair, which led to a reappraisal of the abandoned rebel properties in 1817 (Delgado 1817:3; Rodriguez 1817:3). The Delgado and Rodriguez properties were two such properties, and the 1817 reappraisal of these properties states that the Delgado one-room rock house was sold for 300 pesos, but was then abandoned and deteriorated badly while the Rodriguez house was sold for 250 pesos but was "half fallen and threatened by ruin" (Delgado 1817:3; Rodriguez 1817:3).

The two stone houses in Juan Leal Goraz Sr. probate inventory were likely the houses José Manuel Delgado and Francisco Rodriguez owned. José Manuel Delgado [after 1750-unknown] was the son of Domingo Delgado and Josefa Leal and the grandson of José Leal and step-grandson of Juan Leal Goraz Sr. (Gibson 2014i). I was unable to locate any further information about José Manuel Delgado or any documents indicating how he received the corner lot, but it is likely that he received the parcel and house from his mother, Josefa, who probably received the tract from her father, José Leal, an heir of Juan Leal Goraz who received a portion of his father's estate. Similarly, Francisco Rodriguez [1752-1814] was the son of Catharina Leal and her second husband, Juan Jose Francisco Rodriguez [ca. 1705-unknown], and probably inherited the property along Curbelo Street from his mother, who was also named as one of the heirs to Juan Leal Goraz Sr.'s estate (Gibson 2014i). Francisco Rodriguez (38) appears in the 1790 Census as living in a household with his wife, Juana (35), three children, and a 25-year-old man named Jose de

Arriola, although the census does not provide any indication on where the household was located (Gibson 1790: 15). However, Francisco died in 1814 while living in Natchitoches, Louisiana, suggesting the possibility that Francisco was a rebel who escaped San Antonio to go to the Neutral Ground between Louisiana and Texas following the 1813 revolution, and left his household unoccupied as the record indicates (Haggard 1942; Gibson 1790:15;).

A massive flood on July 5, 1817 devastated the town and destroyed numerous homes and agricultural lands including many of the confiscated rebel properties (Martinez 1819). As a result, the confiscated properties were re-inventoried to assess damages and the record reveals that by 1819, both structures were destroyed and uninhabited: the José Manuel Delgado stone house was in ruins before the flood (*una quadra* [*sic*] *di piedra [a] ruinada antes da inundacion*) while Francisco Rodriguez's stone house had collapsed (*una quadra* [*sic*] *di piedra, desplomada*) *(*Martinez 1819). As in the two previous records, this 1819 record lists the Delgado and Rodriguez's properties consecutively and describes their locations as being on the south corner of the plaza (*en la esquina de la plaza rumbo al sur*) and on Curbelos Street (*calle Curbelos*) respectively (Martinez 1819).

Despite the conditions of the dwellings on the Delgado and Rodriguez's properties after the flood, the two properties were purchased by Domingo Bustillo in a single transaction four months later (BCDR F1:305). Bustillo purchased the properties from the council in charge of selling goods confiscated from the rebels (*Los Commissionados de la Junta que para la venta de los vienes* [*sic*] *embargados a los reveledos* [*sic*] *de este Provincia*) for 310 pesos, 300 for the Delgado property, matching the 1817 reappraisal, but only 10 pesos for the Rodriguez property, which was significantly less than the 1817 reappraisal indicating that the structure may have been destroyed by the flood. The 1819 transaction does not specify the dimensions of the lots, but describes them as the adjoining *suertes* of Juan Manuel Delgado and Francisco Rodriguez that were bounded on the north by the street that runs along the banks of the

San Antonio River, on the south by the land of Josefa Flores, on the east with the river, and on the west by the street of the Curbelos. Francisco Rodriguez and Josefa Flores' households are listed consecutively in the 1890 Census confirming that the property seized in 1813 was Francisco's home for at least 23 years (Gibson 1790:15-16). Similarly, José Manuel Delgado's absence in the same census indicates that the house on the corner lot was either vacant in 1890 or was occupied by tenants of José Manuel Delgado. Furthermore, in his memoirs, Jose Antonio Menchaca states that Francisco Rodriguez's property "formed the southeast corner of the Main Plaza," and was where "French's large stone building stood" (see below), further evidence that José Manuel Delgado did not occupy his corner lot (Matovina et al. 2013:110). It is also worth noting that the 1813 and the 1819 documents do not refer to Dolorosa Street as such, and also refer to the street on the west side of the property as the street where the Curbelo family lived and not as Quinta Street, even though the name Quinta originated from the use of the Curbelo homestead to house the Spanish military during the 1813 revolution.

Domingo Bustillo [1779-1854] was the son of José Antonio Bustillo y Ceballos [ca. 1744-1793] who arrived in San Antonio in about 1766 and claimed familial relationship to Juan Antonio Bustillo y Ceballos, Governor of Texas from 1731 to 1734 (Bustillo Family 2014). Domingo Bustillo was a soldier in the presidial company who was promoted to *alférez* (second lieutenant) in 1811 and was also a prominent citizen in the villa with large land holdings. He also was elected city alderman in 1839 (Bustillo Family 2014). As such, Domingo Bustillo did not live on the subject tract, and according to his 1854 will, he lived in a five-room house south of the San Fernando Cathedral on the west side of the Main Plaza (Bexar County Probate Minutes No. 62686). His 1854 probate inventory does include the subject tract, which is described as lot with "16 *varas* of frontage on the corner of the properties of Montez [*sic*] and Edward Dwyer on Quinta Street," which he left to his wife, Petra Martinez (Bexar County Probate Minutes No. 62686). The Montez tract refers to the Padrón/Cháves tract that, as discussed above, was owned by Juan Jose Montes

de Oca after 1849, while the Dwyer property is the locale where the Bexar County Courthouse is currently located, and Quinta Street is present-day Dwyer Avenue (Hanson 2009:18).

Petra Martinez owned the subject tract for less than a year, and in April of 1855 she and her second husband, Juan Jose Lorenci sold the lot inherited from Domingo Bustillo to Lecomte De Watine (BCDR G2:224). Lecomte De Watine sold the subject tract to John D. Groesbeck and John C. French in the same month that Lecomte acquired it, making it unlikely that he ever occupied the tract, and in fact, Chabot states that Lecomte Watine lived near present-day Mitchell Street close to the river and to Mission Concepción (BCDR G2:224; Chabot 1937:261). John D. Groesbeeck (Groesbeck) was the first wholesale druggist in Texas and a prominent citizen of Galveston before he moved to San Antonio in 1846 and established *Lewis and Groesbeck* [*sic*], a successful mercantile and banking business with his partner, Nathanial Lewis (Baker 2014). John C. French also arrived in San Antonio from Ney Jersey or Pennsylvania in the 1840s and became an employee of *Lewis and Groesbeck* [*sic*] shortly after the firm was established (Chabot 1937:326). John C. French bought Nathaniel Lewis' share in the firm in 1854, and John D. Groesbeeck died the following year in 1855, after which French took sole possession of the business (Chabot 1937:326). Three years later, the French Building (Figures 86 and 87) was completed on the subject tract, where John C. French and Erasmus A. Florian established San Antonio's first regular bank (Figure 7-5; Pease 2014). The bank occupied the French Building until the Civil War when conditions forced John C. French out of business and the French building became the Confederate Army Headquarters and housed the San Antonio Mutual Aid Association, an organization for the needy families of confederate soldiers (Pease 2014). Immediately following the Civil War, the French building became the United States Headquarters for the Western District of Texas as depicted in the 1879 engraving below (Figure 7-6) as well as the home of various other offices of merchants, lawyers, and bankers. The Bexar County Courthouse was also located inside the French Building after 1868, and by 1879 the City of San Antonio offices shared the French Building with various other offices. John C. French died in 1889, and the French

building continued to be used by textile and mercantile businesses for the remainder of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century until 1927, when the building was torn down to build the Police and Health Department Building, which is the building currently located on the subject tract (Pease 2014).

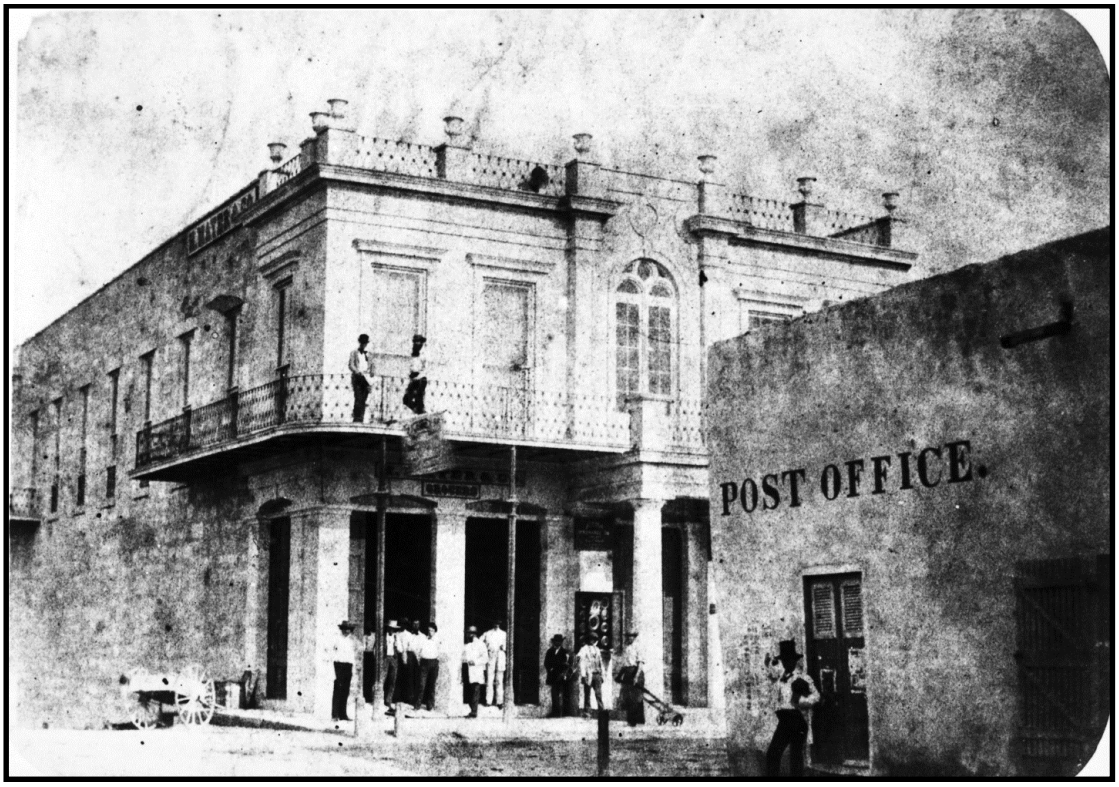

Figure 7-5: 1861 photograph of the French Building and Post Office at the southeast corner of the Main Plaza (UTSA Libraries Special Collections 1861).

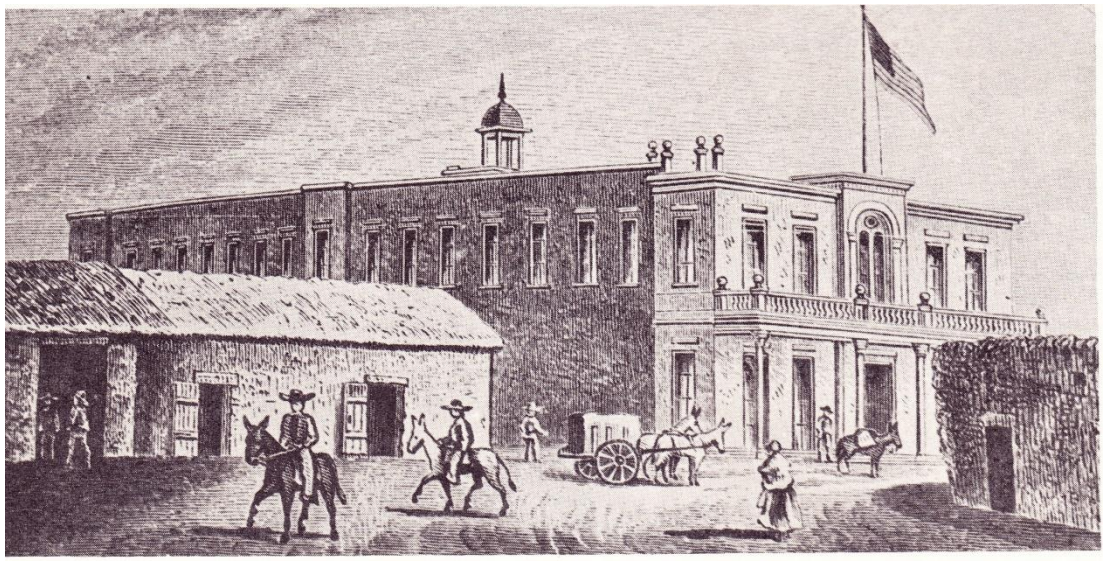

Figure 7-6: 1879 engraving of the French Building and southeast corner of the Plaza titled "Former Military Headquarters" (UTSA Libraries Special Collections 1879).

41BX1752 and the Siege of *Béxar*

In response to growing unrest among Anglo-American colonists and following the Battle of Gonzales in September of 1835, Mexican President, Antonio López de Santa Anna sent his brother-in-law, General Martin Perfecto de Cos to Texas to repress the burgeoning revolution in Texas. Cos arrived in San Antonio on October 9, 1835, the same day that Texian revolutionaries successfully attacked Mexican forces at Presidio La Bahia and gained control of Goliad and the Texas coast. Goliad and the coast were significant losses for General Cos as they effectively cut off his communication to Mexico, as well as timely access to reinforcements and supplies. As a result, General Cos made the decision to take a defensive position in San Antonio rather than attack the Texian forces, and he fortified the Main and Military Plazas and the Alamo (Barr 1990:13). On October 13, 1835, Stephen F. Austin led the Texian Army towards San Antonio, marking the beginning of the two-month-long Siege of *Béxar*. During the siege, the two forces engaged in two light skirmishes, the Battle of Concepción and the Grass Fight, in late October and late November, both of which ended in Texian victories. Facing poor weather and increasing desertions on both sides, the Texians attacked the Mexican Army by surprise by over-taking houses on the north side of

the plaza. Fighting continued for four days in the streets and houses directly north of the plazas, and finally ended on December 9th when Cos first retreated to the Alamo only to surrender later that night.

The following investigation examines Cos' occupation of the villa during the Siege of *Béxar* and identifies archival evidence indicating that the trench feature (ODF 2) located at 41BX1752 can be attributed to fortification earthworks constructed at the Main Plaza during the siege. Previous research (Labadie 1986) and the evidence below indicates that a trench feature associated with a defensive fortification and a battery was likely located at the southeast corner of the Main Plaza, and in the vicinity of 41BX1752. This defensive feature, like all fortification features at the plazas, was constructed under the direction of Mexican officers aware of nineteenth century field fortification conventions, and this investigation attempts to identify the units that were constructed and defended this position. Furthermore, this section provides accounts describing the fortifications in an attempt to identify correlations between the archival and archaeological records.

Numerous primary accounts indicate that subsequent to learning of the outcome of the battle of Goliad on November 11, General Cos ordered the erection of fortifications at the intersections of the streets leading to the Main and Military plazas and around the Alamo and divided his forces between the two defensive posts with cavalry and artillery companies at the Alamo and infantry, artillery, and officers stationed in the plaza (Filisola 1987:84; Jenkins 1973:111–112, 133, 145; Maverick 1942:8–11; Santos 1968:4). These sources also indicate that Cos established artillery emplacements at the Alamo and the plazas with at least four small cannons to defend the corners of the Main and Military Plazas and a fifth placed in front of the San Fernando Church, where he stored the ammunition (ibid.). On October 19, General Cos reported to the war minister, José María Tornel that the city and the Alamo were completely fortified (*Esta Ciudad y el Alamo de Parras queda completamente fortificado*), and while Cos does not

provide details of the fortifications in this report, the document indicates that Cos' army completed the construction of the fortifications at the plazas and the Alamo in less than eight days (Cos 1835).

At the time when these fortifications were constructed, Cos' army consisted of roughly 650 soldiers and officers that included infantry from the Morelos, Abaloso, and Ximenes Battalions, led by Colonel Nicholás Condelle as well as presidial cavalry companies from *Béxar*, Alamo de Parras, Bucareli de Bavia, Tamaulipas, Agua Verde, Rio Grande, and Nuevo León under the direction of General Cos and Colonel Domingo de Ugartechea (Barr 1990:13, Maverick 1942:9). According to the sources cited above, the infantry battalions, the battalion staff, and other high ranking officers were headquartered in the plazas, indicating the likelihood that professional soldiers were responsible for constructing the plaza fortifications, and at the very least, the plaza fortifications were constructed under direct supervision of the army's highest ranking officers including General Cos. While the presidial companies were generally local militia, the infantry battalions were composed of permanent soldiers and officers who were trained and experienced in nineteenth century field fortification principles. These principles were established as early as the seventeenth century by European military theorists and were based on mathematical formulas that calculated the depths and widths of ditches necessary to build different earthworks of specific dimensions. These calculations also determined the amount of labor and time each earthwork required, and were certainly common knowledge among nineteenth century Mexican officers, many of European descent (Labadie 1986:45).

The infantry stationed in San Antonio in early October was primarily from the Morelos Battalion, which was named after the priest José Maria Morelos, a hero in the Mexican War of Independence, and not the state from which the battalion originated, although it is likely that some of the soldiers were from Central Mexico (Tarin 2014). The record indicates that the Morelos Battalion may have been stationed in Saltillo, Mexico as early as February 1835, and it is clearly where they were stationed in early September

of the same year when they left Saltillo for the port of Matamoros in route to San Antonio (Filisola 1987:58–59). According to a commissary review recorded in *Béxar* on October 3rd, the Morelos Battalion was comprised of 256 men including a battalion staff of 10 officers and musicians, a grenadier company of 30 men, a *cazadores* company of 43 men, and six fusilier companies totaling 173 men (Morelos Battalion 1835). The same commissary review also includes two companies from the Abaloso, and Ximenes Battalions (as well as an inventory of the Morelos Battalion mules) that contained 12 and 21 individuals each, suggesting that these were severely depleted companies that may have been added to the Morelos Battalion on the trip to San Antonio (Morelos Battalion 1835). With these two partial battalions included, the infantry and the battalion staff in San Antonio on October 3rd totaled 289 men, which is close to the 300 men Filisola described as "poorly clad, barefoot and terribly weakened from the fatigue of so long a march" (Filisola 1987:58–59). This is also the Morelos Battalion that an Anglo resident of *Béxar* described as "the best soldiers in the republic (of the Mexican Breed)" (Barr 1990:13). However, I was unable to locate any evidence indicating which companies from the Morelos, Aboloso, or Ximenes Battalions constructed or defended specific plaza fortifications.

A number of accounts from the Siege of *Béxar* describe the plaza and Alamo fortifications, including two accounts from Mexican officers. Juan José Sanchez-Navarro, the Adjutant Inspector of the Departments of Nuevo León and Tamaulipas under the command of General Martín Perfecto de Cós, was stationed within the fortified plazas during the Siege of *Béxar* and describes the plaza as being fortified at its intersections with parapets and artillery (Sanchez-Navarro and Sanchez-Navarro 1960:51). General Vicente Filisola, the highest ranking general under President Santa Anna, who was not in San Antonio during the siege, also states that the plazas were defended by "portholes and parapets in the street intersections," and that the artillery placed at each parapet were operated by "good but old soldiers from Morelos," who were ineffective because the "defense of each [parapet] was reduced exclusively to the

front and nothing more," where the "enemy had very little difficulty in avoiding their shots by protecting themselves in the houses and huts in the vicinity" (Filisola 1987:84).

The source of General Filisola's account of the Siege of *Béxar* is unclear, although it has been argued that his accounts of the siege and the Battle of the Alamo are based on Juan José Sanchez-Navarro's memoirs (Ivey 2001). More important, the Mexican officers' descriptions of the plaza fortifications as parapets with artillery generally match those of the Texians. Colonel Francis W. Johnson, the Adjutant and Inspector General of the Texian Army, and leader of one of the two divisions that attacked the north side of the Main Plaza during the Battle of *Béxar*, described the plaza fortifications as:

> "Of the defenses in this town, a breastwork and one gun was thrown up at the northeast angle of the Constitutional Plaza (Main Plaza), also a breastwork and a gun at the entrance of the street from the Alamo, in Constitutional Plaza. At the southeast angle of the same plaza was another work and a gun. At the southwest angle of the Military Plaza was another breastwork and at the northwest angle was erected a breastwork with one gun, and a furnace for heating shot. About midway on this plaza, on the northern boundary, was a redoubt with three guns" (Johnson 1914:353-554).

Colonel William T. Austin, Aid-de-Camp to both General Stephen F. Austin and Commander Edward Burleson and present during the Battle of *Béxar* described the plaza fortifications on two occasions, first on October 19, 1835 when he described the construction of the fortifications and again on October 28, 1835 when describing the layout of the city:

> "It was also ascertained that the enemy had been busily engaged ever since the capture of Goliad fortifying San Antonio by strengthening the walls, barricading the streets, in

which they made port-holes and placed cannon, making wide and deep ditches across the streets immediately outside the barricades" (Austin 1898:vol. 2, chapter 6).

"The town of San Antonio at that time was laid off in a square, with a row of rock buildings around it, some twenty feet high; the streets, passing through these buildings from different directions, were all closed by barricading as high as the tops of the houses, with wide and deep ditches immediately outside the barricading; port-holes were made in these barricades and cannon planted there for the purpose of raking the streets in the event of an assault" (Austin 1898: vol. 2, chapter 6).

Dr. Joseph E. Field, who served as a soldier and physician in the Texian Army and was also present during the Battle of *Béxar*, described the plaza fortifications as:

"At the entrance of every street (to plaza) with the exception of that leading to the Alamo (so Mexican soldiers could communicate with other division and/or retreat) a ditch was dug ten feet wide, five feet deep, raised on the inner side so as to make an elevation of ten feet. Over this was erected a breastwork of perpendicular posts, with port holes for muskets, and one in the center for cannon" (Field 1836:20).

Henry B. Dance, a soldier in the Texian Army recounted his experiences during the siege in a letter to the editor of the Morgan City, Alabama newspaper on April 25, 1836 and described the plaza as:

"The public square was surrounded with large stone buildings covered with cement such as no combustible could set on fire extending from the entrance of one street to another in this was a large stone church surrounded by a strong wall well fortified at each street with a dich [*sic*] 9 feet deep and 15 feet wide and imbankment [*sic*] throwed on sides a

Breast Work and mounted cannon to rake every street and cannon 18 in number" (Jenkins 1973: Volume VI, Item 2864).

Sion R. Bostick, a soldier in the Texian Army describes the plaza fortifications as "large barricades on the streets" with portholes, and confirms Filisola's account regarding the ineffectiveness of the artillery emplacements in the parapet:

> "The guns in these barricades were pointed down the street, and we were on each side in the houses. They could not turn the guns around so as to shoot at us, but we could shoot at them over the walls of the barricades, and when one of them crossed in front of a porthole we shot at him. We moved our cannon into a street so as to knock down some of the barricades, and the fire of the Mexican cannon dismounted it" (Bostick 1901:90).

Joseph Lopez, another soldier in the Texian army recalled the battle in his pension application and described the setting as:

> "The town of San Anton was then small, built of stone houses one story high, and so placed as to form a square before the Church, the street commencing at each of its corners, while each one of those streets was well fortified, at the end towards the public square, and a cannon placed there, that could cut up any body of men to pieces" (Lopez 2014).

Charles B. Shain, a volunteer for the Texian Army who arrived in San Antonio on December 27, 1835, described the aftermath of the siege in a letter to the *Louisville Journal* on June 25, 1836 and described the plaza as:

> "The square was all picketed in with strong post-oak pickets, and there was no way of getting in except by going through the port-hole of one of the cannon. It is a very splendid looking place in the square, but the town looks very badly. The houses are generally built of a kind of cement. Some of them, however, consist merely of pickets driven in the ground, and covered with a kind of straw, cement and moss" (Jenkins 1973: Vol. VII, Item 3528).

The most detailed description of the plaza fortifications comes from Chester Newell's 1838 *The History of the Revolution in Texas, Particularly of the War of 1835 & 1836.* While a secondary source, Newell used primary accounts of the siege and said that Cos had made breastworks at each opening of the square:

> *"*by cutting a fosse or trench about eight feet deep, by sinking two rows of piles about six feet apart, filling the interstices with earth taken from the trench; and by tying the tops of the piles with raw hide ropes. At each of the places so fortified, there was a piece of artillery stationed, and completely masqued, having a roof over it, and a small opening for the muzzle of the gun left in the breast-work'" (Newell 1838:105).

The Mexican and Texian descriptions of the plaza fortifications above agree that the streets leading into the Main and Military Plazas were fortified at the corners of the plazas with defensive works and artillery emplacements. Similarly, most of the accounts, and all of the officers' accounts (Sanchez-Navarro, Filisola, and Johnson) refer to the defensive works as either parapets or breastworks, which are generally synonyms describing components of a defensive earthwork fortification, or as military theorist, D.H. Mahan described in his 1836, *A Treatise on Field Fortifications*:

"To enable troops to fight with advantage, the intrenchments [*sic*] should shelter them from the enemy's fire; be an obstacle in themselves to the enemy's progress; and afford the assailed the means of using their weapons with effect. To satisfy these essential conditions, the component parts of every intrenchment [*sic*] should consist of a covering mass, or embankment, denominated the *parapet*, to intercept the enemy's missiles, to enable the assailed to use their weapons with effect, and to present an obstacle to the enemy's progress, and of a *ditch*, which, from its position and proximity to the parapet, subserves [*sic*] the double purpose of increasing the obstacle which the enemy must surmount, before reaching the assailed, and of furnishing the earth to form the parapet" (Mahan 1836:2; Figure 90 as one configuration).

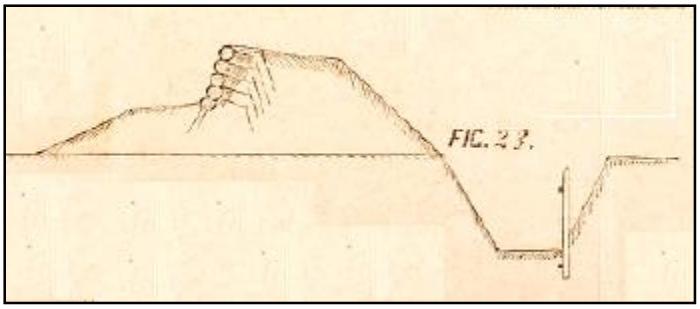

Figure 7-7: Profile of a parapet and trench earthwork with a fascine revetment and a palisade in its ditch (Mahan 1862:Plate IV).

According to Mahan's definition, terminology like parapet and breastwork imply an earthwork feature constructed using soils excavated from a trench, and although Austin, Field and Newell are the only accounts that specifically mention trenches, it is highly likely that the plaza fortifications were composed of an open trench in front of a mound of soil. Austin, Field, Dance, and Newell all describe very large trenches in front of the plaza earthworks: Austin says they were wide and deep, Field indicates that the trench was 10 ft. wide and five ft. deep, Dance says nine ft. deep and 15 ft. wide, while Newell suggests that the trench was eight ft. deep, all of which are similar to the dimensions described by Mahan:

> "The ditch should be regulated to furnish the earth for the parapet. To determine its dimensions, the following points require attention; its depth should not be less than six feet, and its width less than twelve feet, to present a respectable obstacle to the enemy. It cannot, with convenience, be made deeper than twelve feet; and its greatest width is regulated by the inclinations of the superior slope, which, produced, should not pass below the crest of the counterscarp" (Mahan 1836:32).

Furthermore, all accounts mention artillery emplacements associated with the earthworks at the corners of the plaza. While Sanchez-Navaro, Johnson, and Lopez do not specify the arrangement, Filisola, Austin, Field, Bostick, Shain, and Newell indicate that the parapets had openings or portholes for the artillery and muskets, a configuration known as an embrasure battery. An embrasure battery is generally a wall with openings for the artillery and small arms that also serves as revetment for the earthen parapet to protect the battery from enemy artillery. The wall portion could be constructed of a variety of materials, but as Austin, Field, Shain, and Newell's descriptions indicate, the fortifications at the entrances of the plazas were constructed of wood, and oriented similar to a palisade. Mahan identified two types of earthwork batteries, barbette and embrasure batteries, and describes the same limitations of the artillery in the embrasure battery that Filisola critiqued and Bostick observed:

> "Arrangements made of a parapet to enable the guns to fire over it, or through its openings in it; as a barbette battery or an embrasure battery, &c. Two kinds of batteries are used in the defense of intrenchments [*sic*], the barbette battery and the embrasure battery" (Mahan 1836:52).

> "The advantages of embrasures are, that the men and the guns are less exposed than in a barbette battery. Their principal defects are, that they have a very limited field of fire, they are chiefly used for the protection of particular points; as to flank a ditch, protect a

salient, enfilade a road, &c. The most suitable position for them in a work is on the flanks" (Mahan 1936:56).

While the evidence suggests that the earthwork fortifications at the corners of the plaza were embrasure batteries composed of earth and wooden posts, the exact configuration of the battery at the southeast corner is unknown. The property histories indicate that in 1835, a structure, possibly occupied by Francisco X. Cháves's widow Micaela Fragosa, was located on the north side of Dolorosa Street, and according to documents from 1825 and 1837 Juan Cortés and José Antonio Navarro owned a stone house fronting onto the south side of the plaza on the west side of Curbelo Street (present-day Dwyer Avenue and catty-corner to the Cháves house, see NCB 146 write up; Ivey n.d.). However, as discussed in the NCB 118 property history above, it is unlikely that a structure was located on the José Manuel Delgado property on the south side of Dolorosa Street in 1835, indicating the possibility that the fortification stretched from the Cháves house to the Cortés-Navarro house, and may have had an open view towards the southeast. If so, it is unclear how the artillery was positioned at the southeast corner, as only one cannon was responsible for defending Dolorosa Street, Curbelo Street, and the river to the southeast. As such, it is possible that the battery at the southeast corner was configured as a redan or lunette, similar to the barbette battery in Figure 7-8 (Mahan 1836: Plate V).

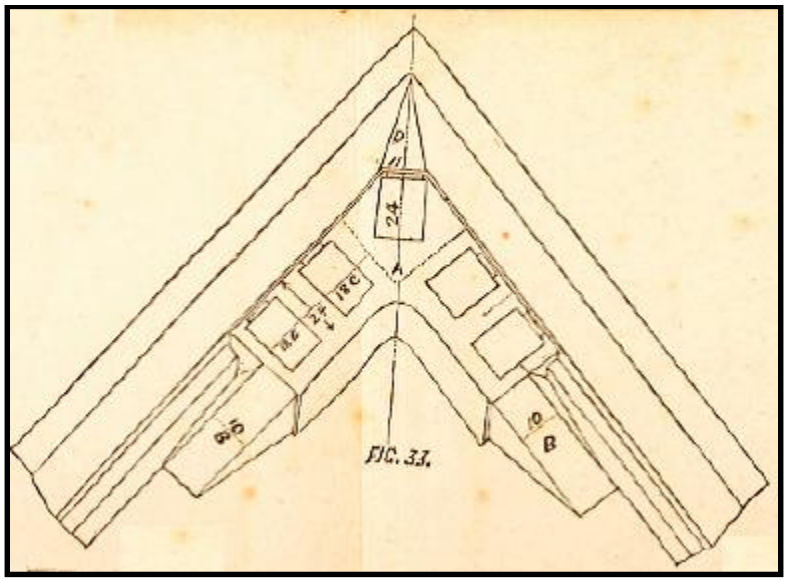

Figure 7-8: Plan view of a barbette battery for three guns (Mahan 1862: Plate V).

Charles B. Shain's description of the plaza on December 27, 1835 indicates that the fortifications on the Main Plaza were still present 18 days after Cos' surrender. According to correspondence between Sam Houston and Governor Henry Smith, it is also possible that the fortifications on the plaza were still present as late as January 17, 1836, a month after the siege and a month before the Battle of the Alamo. Sam Houston writes:

> "I have ordered the fortifications in the town of Bexar to be demolished, and, if you should think well of it, I will remove all the cannon and other munitions of war to Gonzales and Copano, blow up the Alamo and abandon the place, as it will be impossible to keep up the station with volunteers, the sooner I can be authorized the better it will be for the country" (Jenkins 1973: Vol. IV, Item 1813).

It is unclear if Houston's orders to destroy the fortifications in the plaza were carried out, but his plans to abandon the Alamo were certainly not completed. However, the evidence indicates that the trenches were excavated and fortifications completed by October 19 and remained open and upright until at least very late December, suggesting that, at a minimum, the trenches were open and exposed to the

elements for over 2 months. There is also a chance that the fortifications were in place until sometime after the Battle of the Alamo, which did not end until March 6, 1836, or four and a half months after they were constructed.

41BX1752 SAL-Eligibility Testing

Consultation with the City Archaeologist, the OHP, and the THC subsequent to locating and recording site 41BX1752 (ODFs 1 and 2) determined that SAL-eligibility testing was required to evaluate the site and ascertain the necessity for data recovery. As mentioned above, preliminary investigations of 41BX1752 indicated that the site consisted of a late Spanish Colonial-age midden (ODF 1) and ditch or trench feature (ODF 2) that was excavated into the midden feature and then backfilled. The City Archaeologist's initial hypothesis that ODF 2 may represent a military entrenchment associated with 1835 Siege of *Béxar* is supported by written descriptions of Mexican Army gun emplacements at the four corners of the Main Plaza, and the SAL-eligibility testing investigations were recommended to archaeologically confirm these data. To better understand the horizontal and vertical limits of ODF 2, we excavated 1.2215 m^3 of soil in four test units along the south wall of SWT 6B (Figure 7-9), and collected 3,129 provenienced artifacts.

Unit 1

Unit 1 was a 100-x-50-cm unit oriented east–west and placed over the eastern boundary between ODF 1 and ODF 2. We chose the Unit 1 location in an attempt to delineate feature boundaries and to bisect the two features. Unit 1 examined roughly 70–75 cm of the ODF 2 trench feature in the western portion of the unit, and 25–30 cm of the ODF 1 midden deposit in the eastern part of the unit. While evidence of a boundary between the two features was present in the trench profile and along the trench floor, a clear delineation between the two features was not observed until Level 4 (50–60 cmbd), when

two discrete zones became evident, a very dark gray (10YR 3/1) clay loam midden deposit (ODF 1) on the west side, and a light gray (10YR 7/2) clay loam and marl trench fill (ODF 2) on the east side (Figure 7-10).

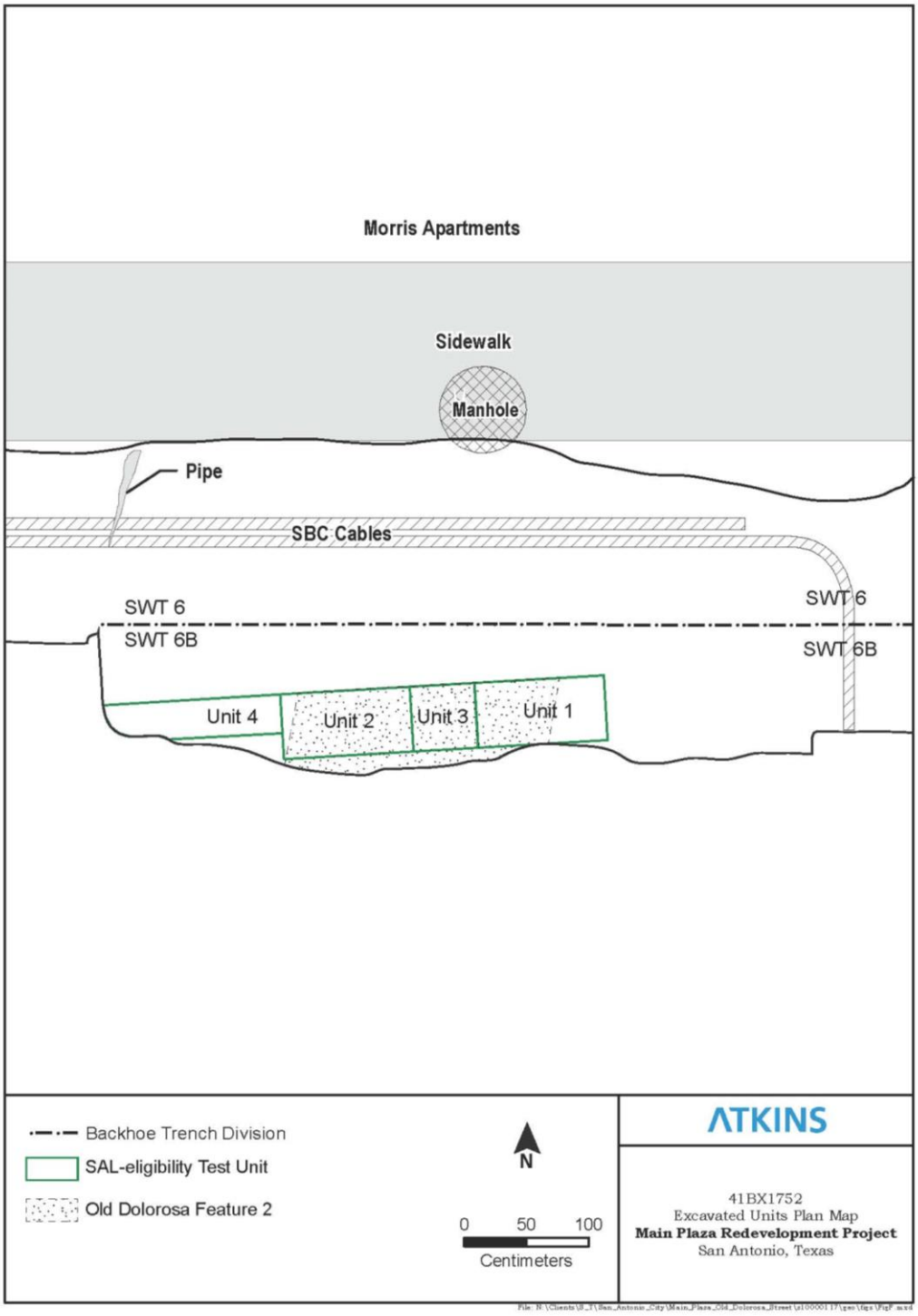

Figure 7-9: Plan map of testing excavation units at 41BX1752.

Figure 7-10: Unit 1, Level 4 (50–60 cmbd), facing south, with ODF 1 on the east side and ODF 2 (10Yr 7/2) on the west side of the unit.

Ten levels were excavated in Unit 1. Levels 1 and 2 were excavated in arbitrary 5-cm levels, beginning at approximately 30 cmbd (the datum for Unit 1 and for all subsequent units excavated at 41BX1752 was located approximately 60 cmbs). Levels 3–7 were arbitrary 10-cm levels, Level 8 was an arbitrary 5-cm level, Level 9 was an arbitrary 15-cm level, and Level 10 was an arbitrary 12-cm level. Archaeologists encountered marl subsoil in Level 8 at 95 cmbd on the east side of the unit, directly below the ODF 1 midden deposit. Subsequent excavation of Levels 9 (95–110 cmbd) and 10 (110–122 cmbd) revealed evidence of a sharp cut into the subsoil at the boundary between the two features, suggesting that the original trench feature cut into the subsoil approximately 30 cm. Levels 9 and 10 were primarily composed of the light gray (10YR 7/2) clay loam ODF 2 trench fill that sat above a thin (>5 cm) layer of

dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) clay loam with a high density of artifacts that was directly on top of the calcareous marl subsoil (122 cmbd).

In total, Unit 1 sampled 0.4195 m^3 of 41BX1752, of which 0.0975 m^3 was identified as the ODF 1 midden deposit; the remaining 0.322 m^3 was identified as the ODF 2 trench fill. Archaeologists recovered 645 artifacts from Unit 1, and Table 7-1 presents the artifact material types recovered from each level. The unit collection consists of a high percentage of faunal bone (75.5 percent, n = 490) and ceramics (12.3 percent, n = 80), with proportionally fewer metal artifacts (n = 31), glass (n = 21), bricks and other masonry materials (n = 20), lithics (n = 5), and mussel shell (n = 2). Of the Unit 1 ceramics, 72.5 percent are of English origin (n = 58), 25 percent are Spanish Colonial ceramics primarily produced in Mexico (n = 20), and 2.5 percent are locally made ceramics known as Goliad Ware (n = 2). In general, the high amount of faunal material and ceramics recovered from Unit 1 are most likely a reflection of the domestic nature of the ODF 1 midden deposit. However, the distal end of a single-edged blade identified as the sword tip from a Briquette sword used by the Mexican infantry from 1832 to 1835 was recovered from Level 3, and an unused lead musket pad was recovered from Level 5, indicating a possible military presence (Sam Nesmith personal communication).

Table 7-1: Counts of Artifacts Recovered from Unit 1										
Level (cmbd)	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial Ceramics	English Ceramics	Metal	Glass	Lithics	Building Materials	Mussel Shell	Total	Animal Bone
1 (30–35)	2	0	7	1	7	0	3	0	20	30
2 (35–40)	0	0	8	5	4	2	7	1	27	18
3 (40–50)	0	3	9	5	6	2	2	0	27	39
4 (50–60)	0	2	8	0	3	0	0	1	14	36
5 (60–70)	0	2	7	2	0	0	0	0	11	36
6 (70–80)	0	2	6	0	1	0	0	0	9	10
7 80–90)	0	2	6	13	0	1	2	0	24	61
8 (90–95)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
9 (95–110)	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	12
10 (110–122)	0	7	7	5	0	0	6	0	25	244
Total	2	20	58	31	21	5	20	2	159	490

Figure 7-11 presents the distribution of nonbone artifacts and faunal bone, respectively, by level in Unit 1. We observed in the field that the artifact types were similar in both features, but the density of artifacts recovered from the light gray (10YR 7/2) clay loam ODF 2 trench fill was much lower than the relatively dense, very dark gray (10YR 3/1) clay loam ODF 1 midden deposit. The exception to this observation was the bottom 5–7 cm of Level 10 (excavated concurrently with Unit 3, Level 17), which was composed entirely of dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) ODF 2 trench fill, and alone accounts for 49.8 percent (n-244; 55.9 percent by weight n = 1,455.9 g) of the faunal material recovered from Unit 1, including a complete left mandible from an adult *Bos taurus*. Because project archaeologists did not collect artifacts according to feature in Unit 1, its excavation revealed no real distribution pattern beyond the significant increase in both animal bone and artifacts found in Level 10. In total, Unit 1 densities equaled 369.5 nonbone artifacts per m^3 and 1,168.05 (6,203.4 g) animal bones per m^3 in Unit 1.

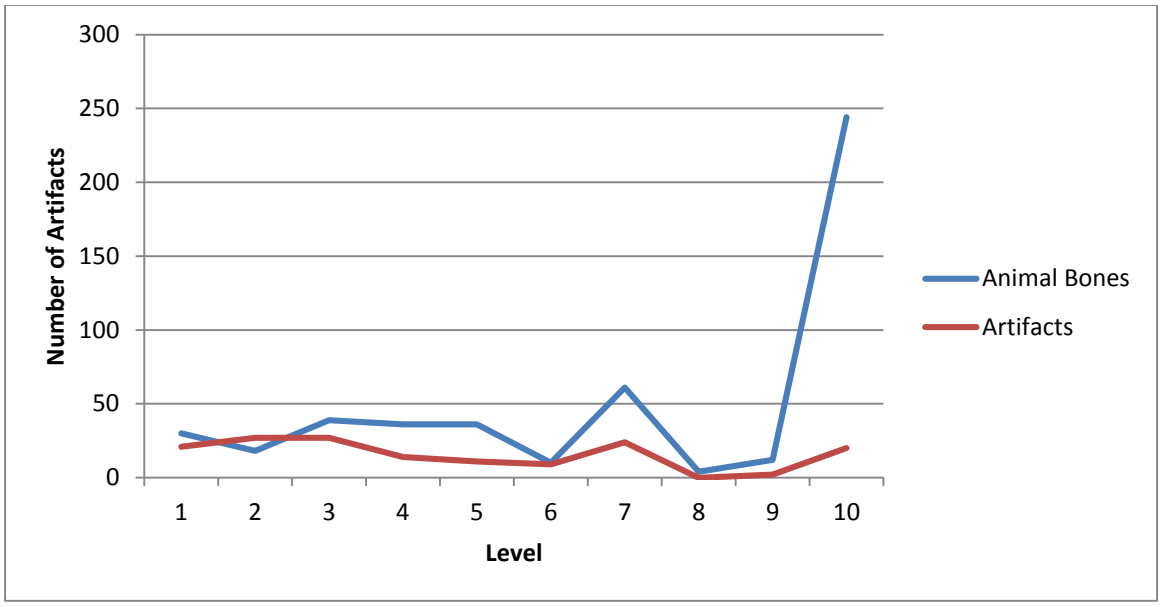

Figure 7-11: Distribution of animal bone and nonfaunal bone artifacts in Unit 1.

Unit 2

Archaeologists placed Unit 2 50 cm west of Unit 1 (see Figure 38), with the intention of locating the western edge of the light gray (10YR 7/2) clay loam and marl trench fill located in Unit 1. Unit 2 was also a 100 x 50-cm unit oriented east–west along the south wall of SWT 6B. We excavated the unit in nine arbitrary 10-cm levels until reaching subsoil at approximately 110–121 cmbd. Unit 2 did not reveal the western boundary of the light gray (10YR 7/2) clay loam and marl trench fill located in Unit 1 as expected, but instead was composed entirely of a dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) clay loam. However, similar to Unit 1, the west profile of Unit 2 displayed a roughly 50-cm cut into the marl subsoil, indicating that the dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) clay loam also represented ODF 2 trench fill (Figure 7-12).

Figure 7-12: Unit 2 west wall profile displaying cut into the subsoil.

Unit 2 sampled 0.455 m^3 of the dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) trench fill and produced a high volume of animal bone (68 percent, n = 686) and ceramics (15 percent, n = 151), with significantly fewer metal artifacts (n = 39), glass (n = 36), lithics (n = 42), building materials (n = 50), shell (n = 3), and a single glass bead. Table 7-2 presents the artifact types recovered from each level of Unit 2 and indicates that 69.5 percent of the ceramics are of English origin (n = 105), 24.5 percent are Spanish Colonial ceramics (n = 36), and 6 percent are locally made Goliad Ware (n = 9). Like Unit 1, the Unit 2 artifacts are primarily domestic in nature, but two gunflints, one locally made and one produced in Great Britain, were recovered in Level 8, further indicating a military presence.

Table 7-2: Counts of Artifacts Recovered from Unit 2

Level (cmbd)	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial Ceramics	English Ceramics	Metal	Glass	Lithics	Building Materials	Shell	Glass Beads	Total	Animal Bone
1 (30–40)	0	2	7	1	5	2	2	1	0	20	59
2 (40–50)	1	4	7	2	2	2	3	0	0	21	40
3 (50–60)	0	5	13	2	1	2	2	0	0	25	122
4 (60–70)	3	5	25	9	12	11	1	0	1	67	87
5 (70–80)	1	5	17	3	7	10	10	1	0	54	104
6 (80–90)	0	4	7	1	3	6	12	0	0	33	71
7 (90–100)	1	4	12	2	1	1	7	0	0	28	41
8 (100–110)	1	5	6	3	2	6	3	1	0	27	51
9 (110–120)	2	3	11	16	3	2	10	0	0	47	111
Total	9	37	105	39	36	42	50	3	1	322	686

Figure 7-13 presents the distribution of artifacts and faunal bone by level in Unit 2. Over 20 percent of all nonbone artifacts (n = 67) and 23.3 percent of animal bone by weight (n = 442.3g; 12.6 percent by count [n=87]) were recovered from Level 4 (60–70 cmbd). However, about 15 percent of each respective collection (n = 47; n = 111 [n=321.9g]) was recovered from Level 9, indicating a distribution pattern somewhat similar to Unit 1, with a relatively dense bottom level. Overall, Unit 2 displays a higher density of artifacts than Unit 1, with 707.7 nonbone items per m^3. By count, Unit 2 also had a higher density of animal bones than Unit 1 with 1,507.7 bones per m^3 although by weight Unit 2 had significantly lower density than Unit 1, with only 4,171.4 g of bone per m^3.

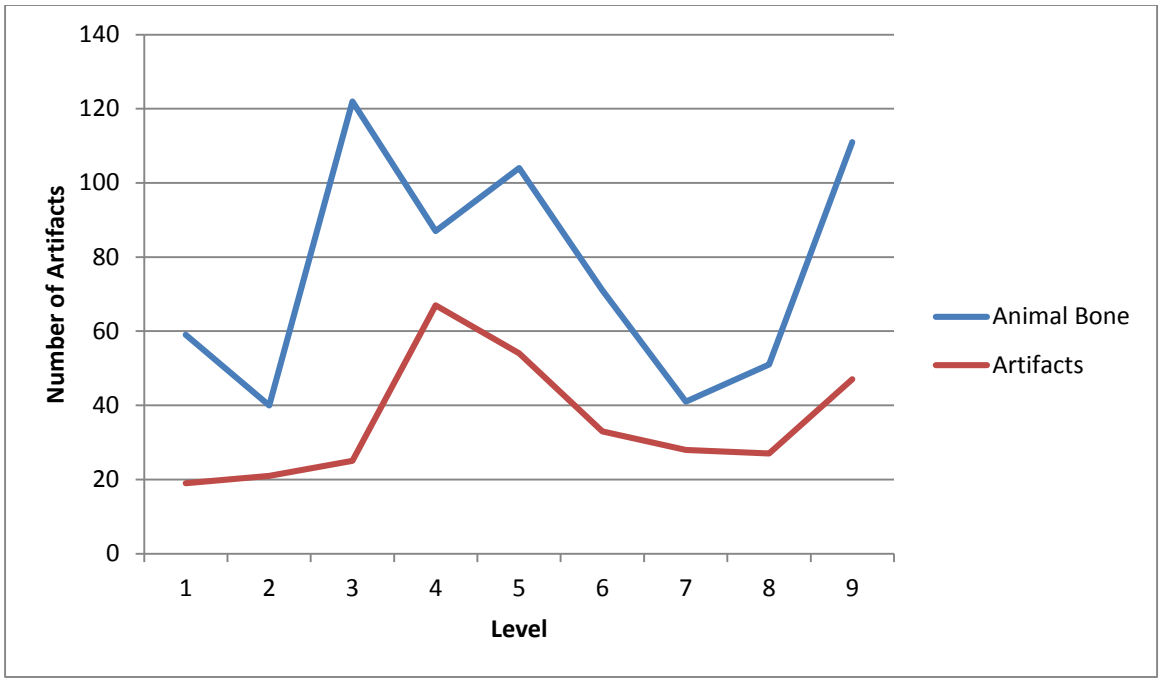

Figure 7-13: Distribution of animal bone and nonfaunal bone artifacts in Unit 2.

Unit 3

Unit 3 was the remaining 50 cm^2 balk between Units 1 and 2, and was excavated in 17 arbitrary 5-cm levels in an attempt to define the interface zone between the light gray (10YR 7/2) clay loam ODF 2 trench fill encountered in Unit 1 and the dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) clay loam ODF 2 trench fill encountered in Unit 2 (Figure 7-14).

Figure 7-14: Plan view of Unit 3, Level 6 (55–60 cmbd), facing south, displaying the interface zone between the light gray (10YR 7/2) ODF 2 trench fill and the dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) ODF 2 trench fill.

Excavation revealed that Levels 1–4 (30–50 cmbd) were composed entirely of the dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) clay loam. The light gray (10YR 7/2) clay loam first appeared on the east side of the unit at the bottom of Level 5 (50–55 cmbd). The proportion of light gray (10YR 7/2) clay loam to dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) clay loam increased across the unit floor (east–west) from Level 5 (roughly 35 percent of the unit) to Level 10 (75–80 cmbd), where the lighter (10YR 7/2) soils composed about 75 percent of the unit. Similarly, the proportion of the dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) clay loam increased across the unit (west–east) from Level 10 (25 percent of the unit) to Level 14 (95–100 cmbd), where about 68 percent of the unit was composed of darker soils. However, by Levels 15 (100–105 cmbd) and 16 (105–110 cmbd), the lighter (10YR 7/2) clay loam and marl trench fill accounted for approximately 90 percent of the unit in

each level (Table 7-3). As mentioned above, the archaeologists excavated Unit 3, Level 17 (110–122 cmbd) concurrently with Unit 1, Level 10, of which the upper 7 cm were composed of the light gray (10YR 7/2) clay loam and the underlying 5 cm were composed of the dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) clay loam with a high concentration of artifacts, primarily faunal bones, including the left mandible from an adult *Bos taurus* (see Unit 1 discussion).

Table 7-3 Estimated Percentage of Unit 3 Soil Types by Level

Level	Percentage of 10YR 4/2	Percentage of 10YR 7/2
1	100	0
2	100	0
3	100	0
4	100	0
5	65	35
6	50	50
7	30	70
8	17	83
9	20	80
10	25	75
11	48	52
12	50	50
13	70	30
14	68	32
15	10	90
16	10	90

Within the predominantly light gray (10YR 7/2) clay loam soils in Level 16, we observed three ephemeral, circular features composed of the dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) clay loam along the east edge of the unit. These features were only partially visible as they appeared to extend into Unit 1, but observation suggested that the features were three post holes or post molds oriented northeast–southwest, each measuring roughly 20 cm in diameter. However, archaeologists were unable to locate these features in Unit 1, and their ephemeral nature made it impossible to bisect the features in Unit 3 to ascertain their depths.

Unit 3 sampled approximately 0.23 m^3 of ODF 2, and excluding the artifacts recovered from Level 17 (included with Unit 1, Level 10 counts, see above), the unit produced relatively high volumes of animal bone (72 percent, n = 341) and ceramics (13.3 percent, n = 63) in comparison to metal artifacts (n = 5), glass (n = 21), building materials (n = 30), and lithics (n = 12). Table 7-4 presents the artifact types recovered from each level of Unit 3, and indicates that 76.2 percent of the ceramics are of English origin (n = 48), 20.6 percent are Spanish Colonial ceramics (n = 13), and 3.2 percent are locally made Goliad Ware (n = 2).

Table 7-4: Counts of Artifacts Recovered from Unit 3

Level (cmbd)	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial Ceramics	English Ceramics	Metal	Glass	Lithics	Building Materials	Shell	Total	Bone
1 (30–35)	0	1	6	0	2	0	0	0	9	13
2 (35–40)	0	1	4	2	3	2	4	0	16	30
3 (40–45)	0	2	5	0	3	1	1	0	12	19
4 (45–50)	0	1	3	0	1	2	0	0	7	8
5 (50–55)	0	1	1	1	5	2	8	0	18	37
6 (55–60)	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	4	47
7 (60–65)	1	1	6	0	2	0	0	0	10	28
8 (65–70)	0	1	3	0	0	2	4	0	10	9
9 (70–75)	1	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	5	9
10 (75–80)	0	0	4	0	1	0	1	1	7	34
11 (80–85)	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	4	20
12 (85–90)	0	0	2	1	0	0	3	0	6	13
13 (90–95)	0	0	3	0	0	0	2	1	6	44
14 (95–100)	0	1	4	1	0	2	2	0	10	21
15 (110–115)	0	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	5	6
16 (115–120)	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	4	3
Total	4	13	48	5	21	12	30	2	133	341

Figure 7-15 present the distribution of nonbone and faunal bone by level in Unit 3. Unit 3 artifacts are similar to those recovered from Units 1 and 2 in that they were primarily domestic materials. Although archaeologists did not collect artifacts from Unit 3 based on soil zone, field observations suggested that fewer artifacts came from the light gray (10YR 7/2) clay loam zones than the dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) clay loam zones. This observation is supported by a comparison of the frequencies of artifacts

recovered from each level and the percentage of soil types that make up each level. This analysis indicates that an average of 11.5 artifacts and 68.5 g of animal bone were recovered from levels composed of higher percentages (65 percent or more) of dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) clay loam, compared to an average of seven artifacts and 30.6 g of animal bones recovered from levels composed of higher ratios of the light gray (10YR 7/2) clay loam. Overall, the densities of artifacts and animal bone recovered from Unit 3 are similar to Unit 2, with 578.3 artifacts and 1482.6 (3,940.4 g) animal bones per cubic meter.

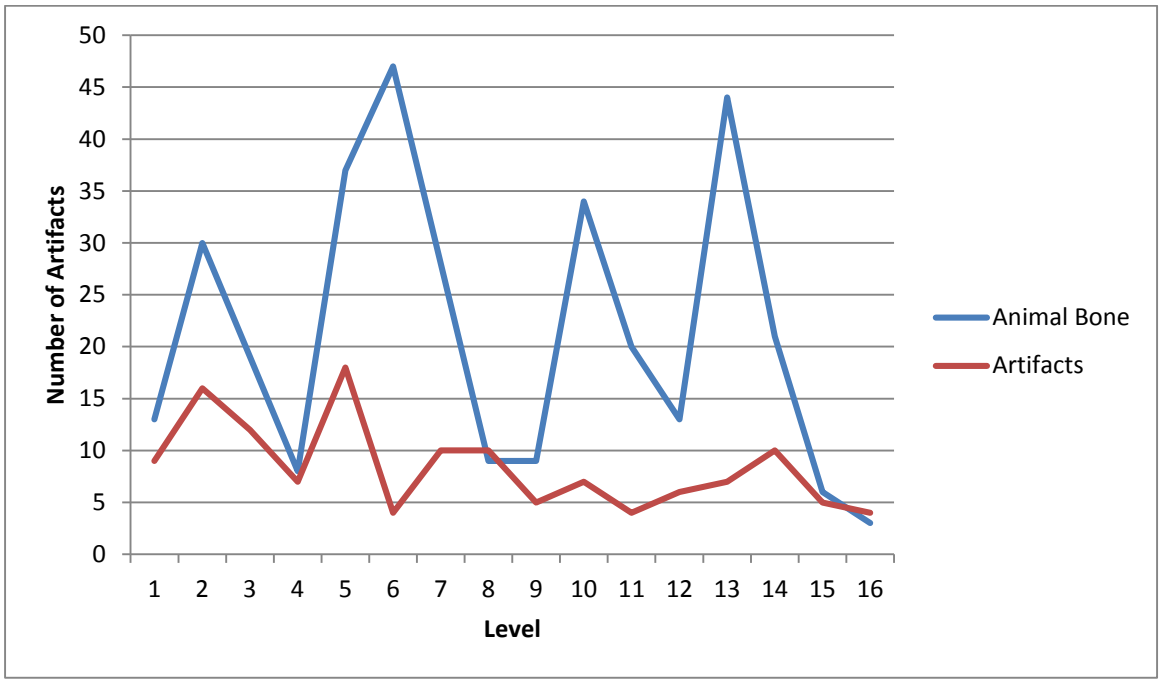

Figure 7-15: Distribution of animal bone and nonfaunal bone artifacts in Unit 3.

Unit 4

Unit 4 was located directly west of Unit 2 along the south wall of SWT 6B (see Figure 7-9), and measured 1.3 m long and approximately 30 cm wide. Due to time constraints, and because the unit did not display any observable stratification, we excavated Unit 4 in two levels, an arbitrary 10-cm level and a 30-cm level, until subsoil was encountered at approximately 60 cmbd (120 cmbs). Both levels were composed of the very dark gray (10YR 3/1) clay loam identified as the ODF 1 midden deposit, and the marl

subsoil gently sloped from west to east until it was truncated by the ODF 2 trench cut recognized in the west profile of Unit 2 (Figure 7-16).

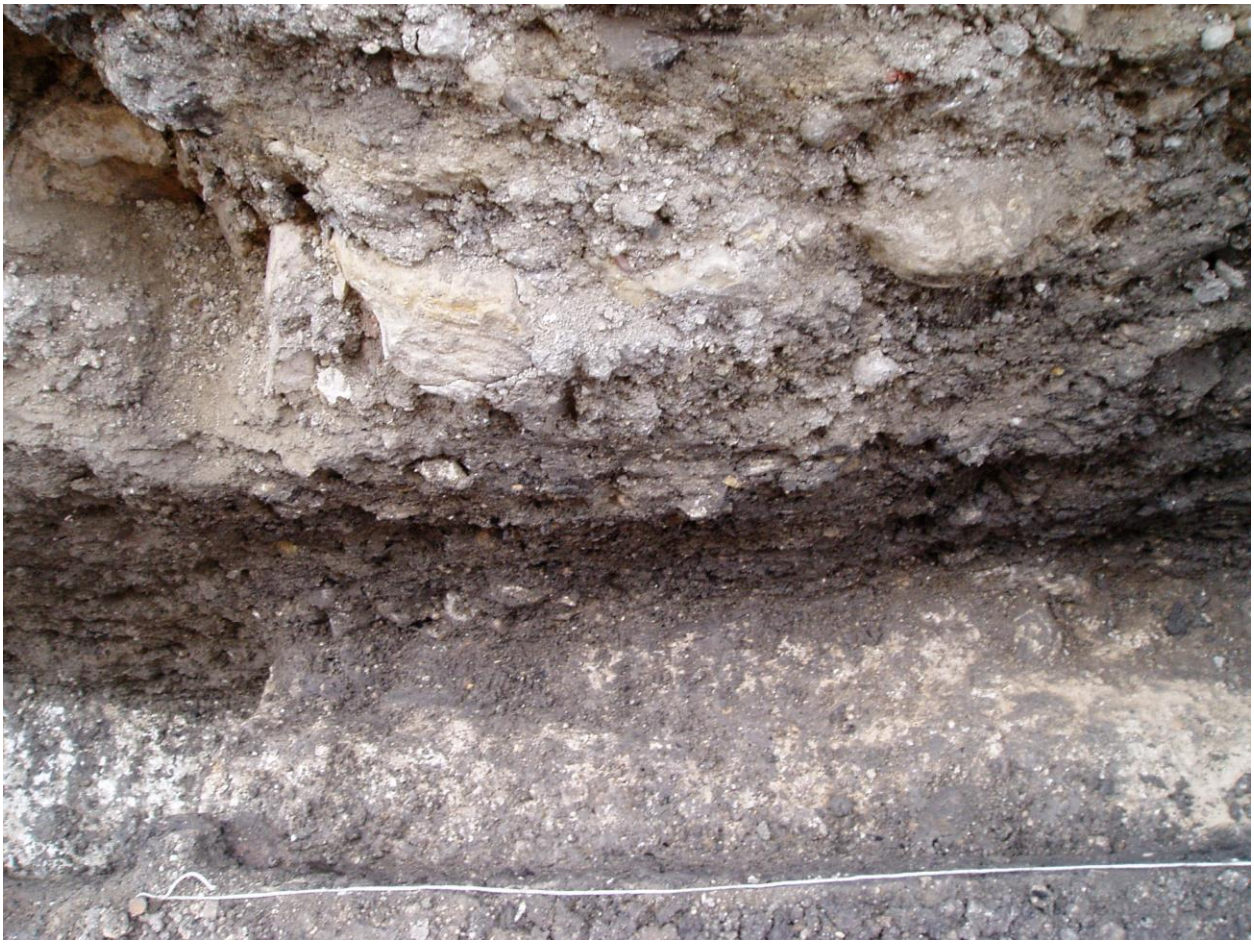

Figure 7-16: South wall profile of Units 2 and 4.

Unit 4 sampled 0.117 m^3 of the ODF 1 midden deposit, and archaeologists recovered 1,437 items, including a high proportion of animal bone (79.4 percent, n = 1,141) and ceramics (9.4 percent, n = 135). Significantly fewer metal artifacts (n = 28), glass (n = 51), lithics (n = 41), and building materials (n = 14) were found, as well as mussel and snail shell (n = 18), eggshell (n = 8), and one glass bead (Table 7-5). Of the ceramics recovered from the two levels of Unit 4, 65.2 percent are of English origin (n = 88), 31.1 percent are Spanish Colonial wares (n = 42), and 3.7 percent are locally made wares (n = 5). In addition to

the domestic artifacts found throughout the unit, a single 0.19-caliber lead shot pellet was recovered from Level 2 of the unit.

Table 7-5: Counts of Artifacts Recovered from Unit 4

Level (cmbd)	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial Ceramics	English Ceramics	Metal	Glass	Lithics	Building Materials	Beads	Shell	Egg Shell	Total	Bone
1 (30–40)	0	8	15	9	5	8	5	1	0	0	51	89
2 (40–70)	2	5	26	19	7	3	1	0	11	7	81	624
Midden	3	30	47	0	39	30	8	0	7	1	164	428
Total	5	43	88	28	51	41	14	1	18	8	297	1,141

The Unit 4 excavation methodology prohibits any kind of distribution analysis. However, the relative densities of artifacts and faunal material from Unit 4 are significantly higher than previous units, with 2,470.1 artifacts and 6,094 (8,130.8 g) faunal bones per m^3 (Figure 7-17). As the only unit to exclusively sample the ODF 1 midden deposit, the Unit 4 data suggest that the midden component had a much higher density of materials than the ODF 2 trench fill deposit.

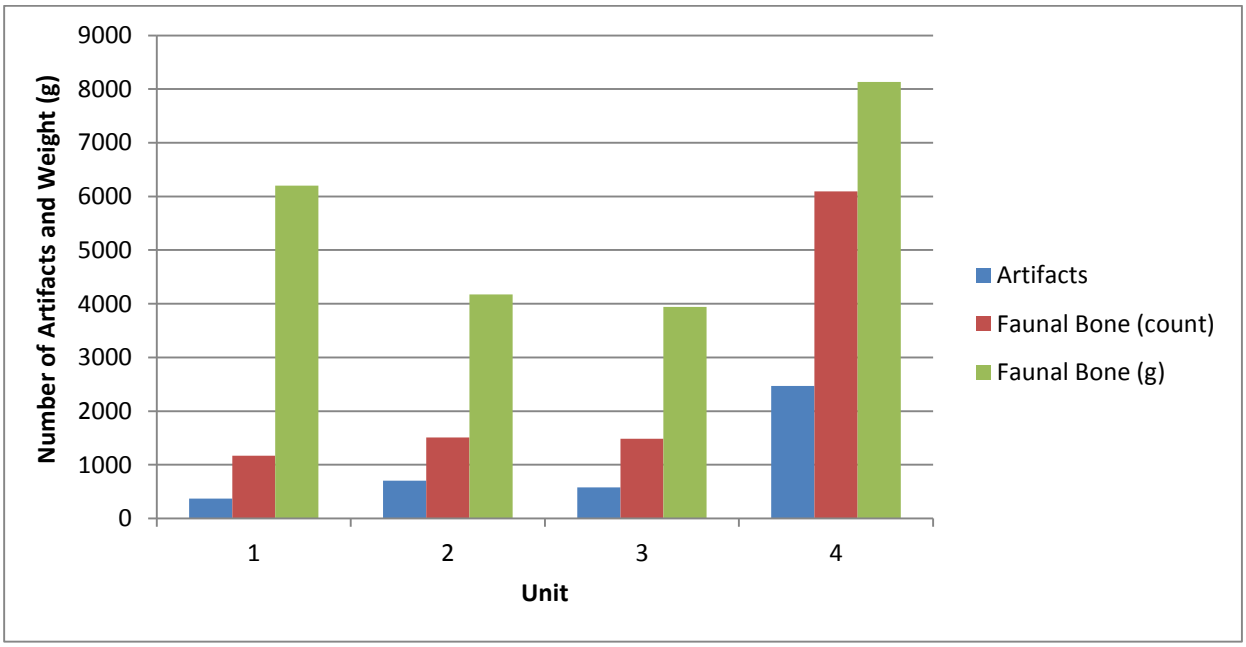

Figure 7-17: Density (per m^3) of nonfaunal bone artifacts and faunal bone in Units 1–4.

Results

SAL-eligibility testing indicated that the deposits at 41BX1752 represent a large, early nineteenth-century midden deposit bisected by a pit feature that was subsequently backfilled with the same excavated soils (Figure 7-18 and Figure 7-19). The recovery of various military-related artifacts and diagnostic artifacts dating the site to the first half of the nineteenth century provide evidence to suggest that the deposits at 41BX1752 may have been associated with General Cos' occupation of the Main Plaza during the Siege of *Béxar*. Therefore, the THC and OHP determined that the site was significant under Criteria 1–4 of Section 26.10 of the Chapter 26 Rules of Practice and Procedures and eligible for designation as a SAL and warranted mitigation, since construction activities could not avoid the site.

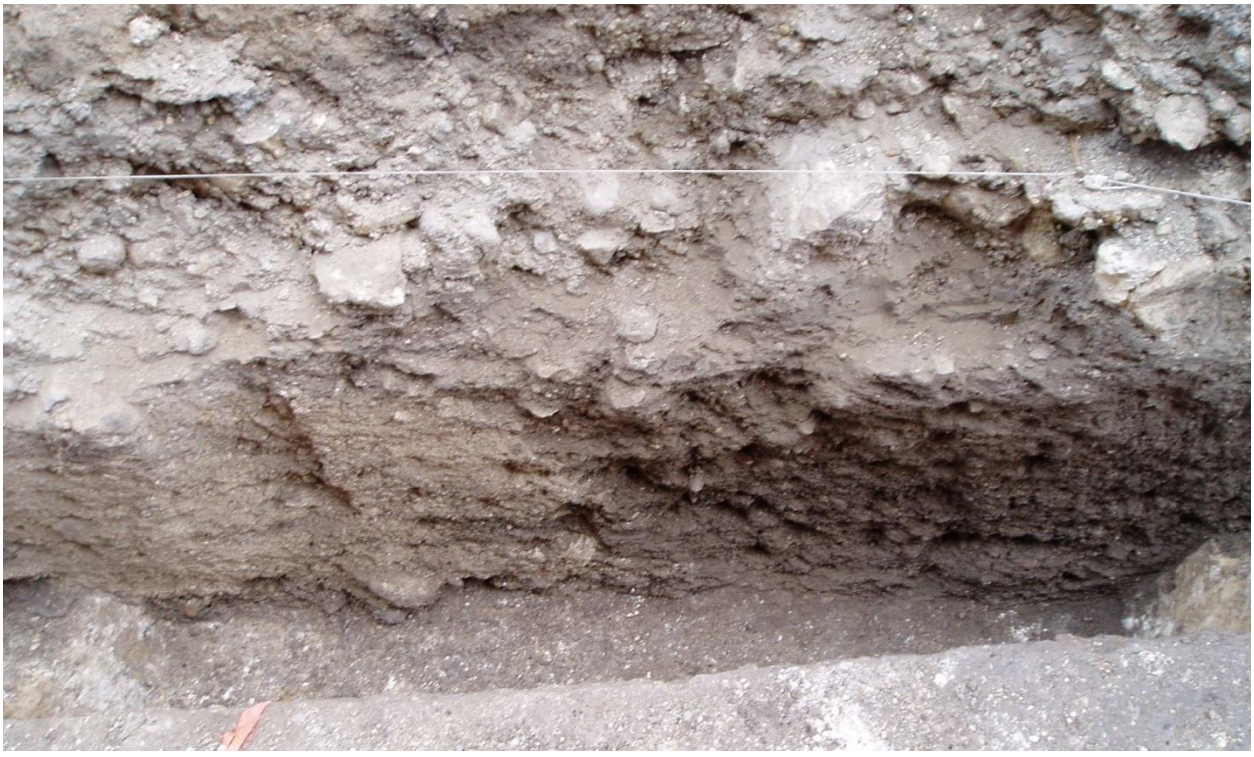

Figure 7-18: ODF 2 south wall profile after SAL-eligibility testing.

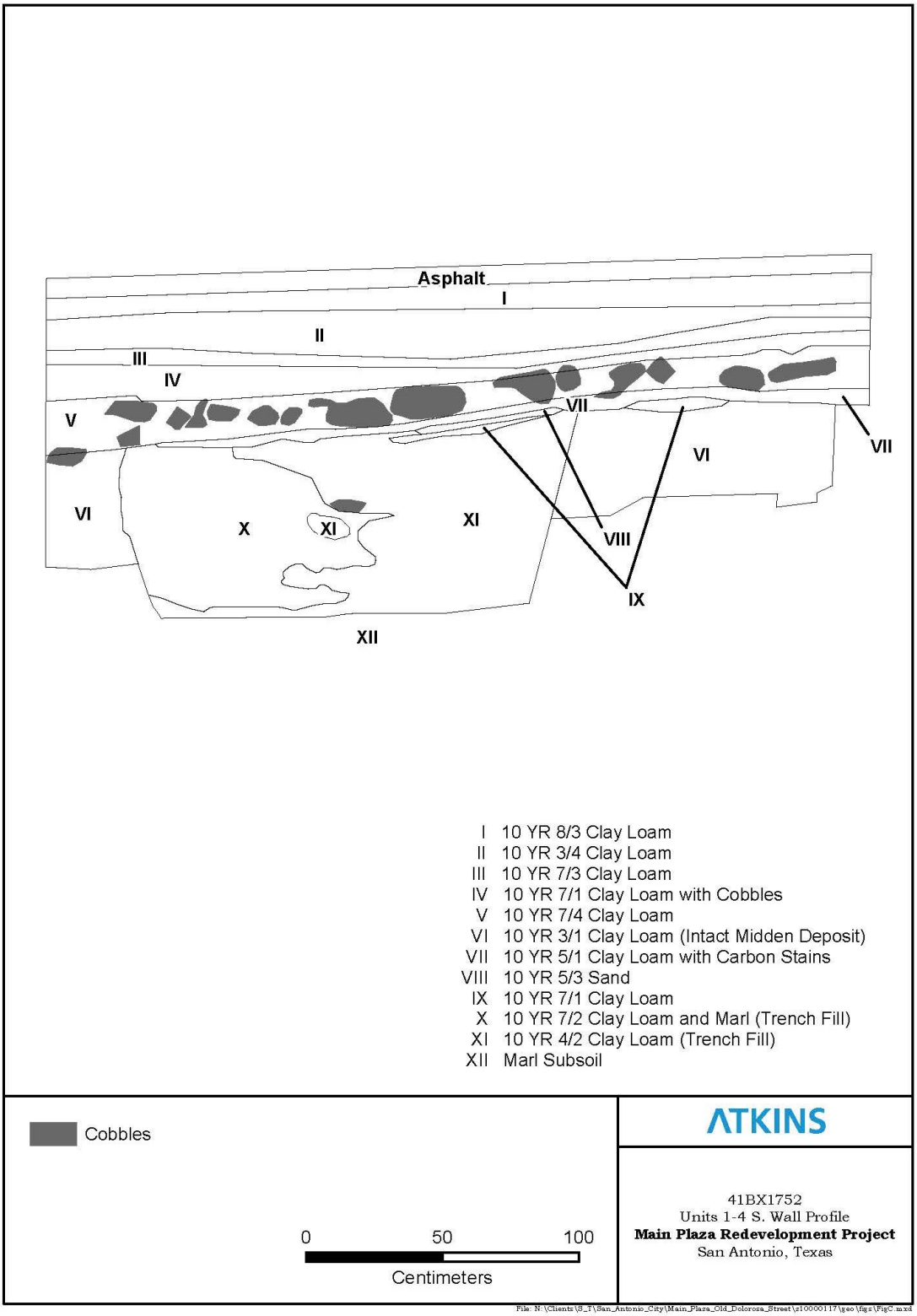

Figure 7-19: South wall profile of Units 1–4 after SAL-eligibility testing (Hanson 2016: 9).

41BX1752 Data Recovery

After the testing investigations at 41BX1752, the THC and OHP determined that the site contained significant deposits under Criteria 1-4 of Section 26.10 of the Chapter 26 Rules of Practice and Procedures and was eligible for designation as an SAL. Because the site could not be avoided by construction activities the THC and OHP determined that the site warranted mitigation. During the data recovery we excavated five units and two test columns (**Figure 7-20**) that explored and removed 2.3842 m^3 of 41BX1752, including the entire ODF 2 trench deposit within the storm water drain footprint, and recovered 11,720 provenienced artifacts.

Unit 5

Unit 5 was located directly north of Unit 1 and was also a 100-x-50-cm unit oriented east–west (Figure 7-20). Archaeologists excavated Unit 5 in seven arbitrary 10-cm levels, and encountered the ODF 1/ODF 2 boundary in Level 2 (60–70 cmbd), revealing that the east boundary of the ODF 2 trench generally ran northeast–southwest. In general, the western two-thirds of the unit were composed of ODF 2 and the eastern one-third consisted of ODF 1. Excavation revealed that the ODF 1 midden deposit (10YR 3/1 clay loam) extended to approximately 115 cmbd, indicating gently sloping subsoils from those encountered in Unit 1. Similarly, the archaeologists encountered marl subsoil at approximately 135 cmbd within the ODF 2 trench feature, indicating that the trench floor also gently sloped from south to north. Much like in Unit 1, the ODF 2 component in Unit 5 was composed of a light gray (10YR 7/2) clay loam and marl trench fill, with the exception of a portion of Level 8 (126–130 cmbd) and all of Level 9 (130–137 cmbd), which were composed of dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) clay loam with a high volume of artifacts that sat directly above marl subsoil (Figure 7-21).

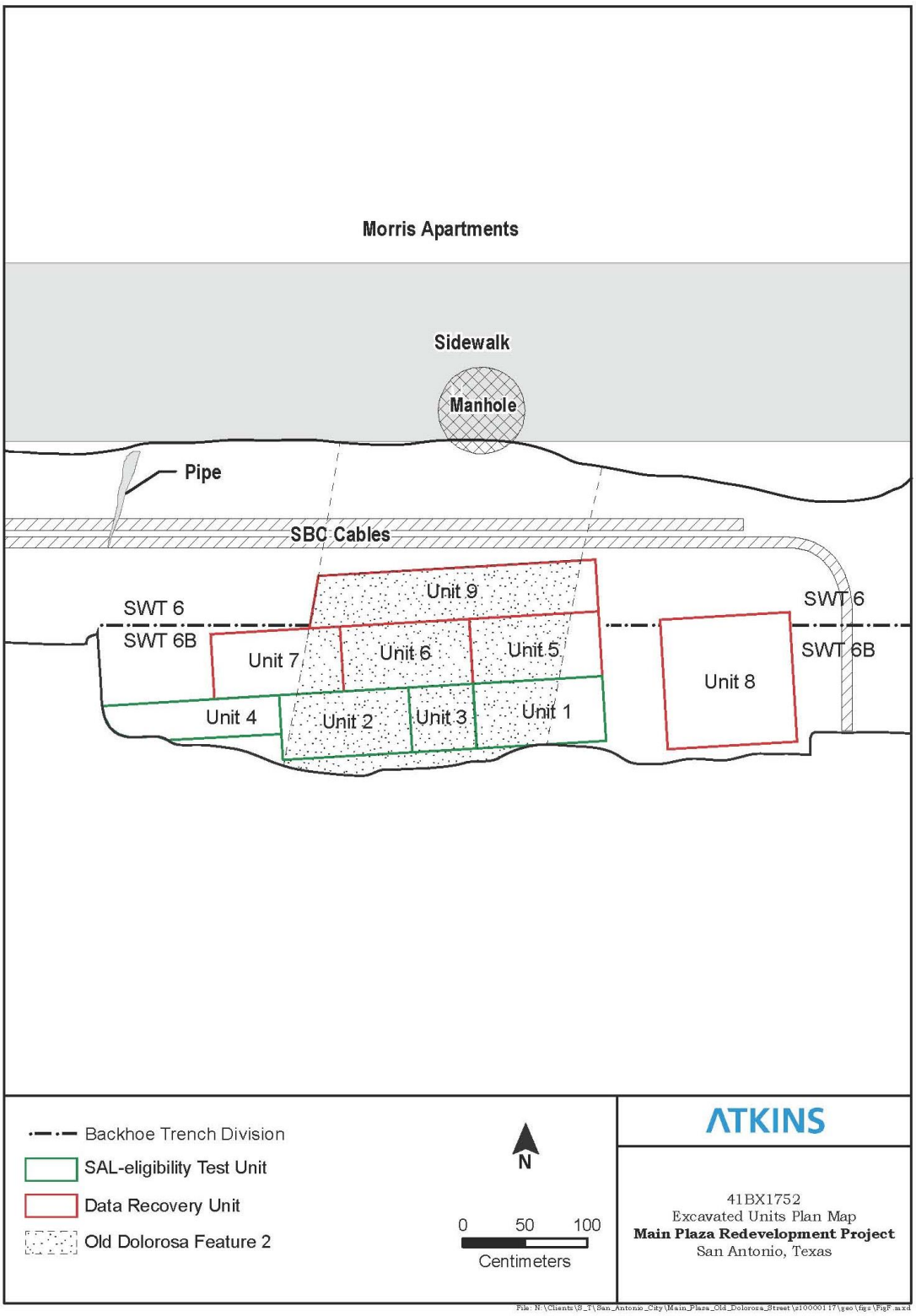

Figure 7-20: Plan map of data recovery excavation units at 41BX1752 (Hanson 2016: 98).

In total, Unit 5 sampled 0.395 m^3 of 41BX1752, of which 0.0975 m^3 was identified as the ODF 1 midden deposit, while the remaining 0.2975 m^3 was identified as the ODF 2 trench fill. We collected artifacts according to feature and Table 7-6 and Table 7-7 present the artifact types recovered from each level of Unit 5 from ODF 1 and ODF 2, respectively. Artifact types from both features are very similar to each other, as well as to the test unit assemblages (Units 1–4). The collection is generally domestic in nature, with animal bone composing 65.9 percent of the total collection (n = 1,425), 61.1 percent of the ODF 1 assemblage (n = 443), and 68.3 percent of the ODF 2 assemblage (n = 982). Ceramics account for 9.8 percent of the total Unit 5 collection (n = 212), 12 percent the ODF 1 (n = 87) assemblage, and 8.7 percent of the ODF 2 (n = 125) artifacts.

Figure 7-21: Unit 5 Level 7 (110–120 cmbd), north wall profile.

Table 7-6: Counts of Artifacts Recovered from Unit 5, ODF 1 Midden

Level (cmbd)	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial Ceramics	English Ceramics	Metal	Glass	Lithics	Building Materials	Glass Beads	Buttons	Mussel Shell	Egg Shell	Total	Bone
1 (50–60)	0	1	6	10	5	69	0	0	0	0	0	91	11
2 (60–70)	0	9	14	25	10	11	0	0	1	0	0	70	51
3 (70–80)	0	3	8	6	6	0	0	0	1	2	0	26	21
4 (80–90)	2	11	8	5	9	8	0	0	0	0	0	43	123
5 (90–100)	0	6	6	0	0	13	0	0	0	0	1	26	113
6 (100–110)	1	4	1	5	1	3	1	0	0	2	0	18	54
7 (110–120)	3	3	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	8	70
Total	6	37	44	51	31	105	1	0	2	4	1	282	443

Table 7-7: Counts of Artifacts Recovered from Unit 5, ODF 2 Trench Fill.

Level (cmbd)	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial Ceramics	English Ceramics	Metal	Glass	Lithics	Building Materials	Glass Beads	Buttons	Mussel Shell	Egg Shell	Total	Bone
1 (50-60)	1	6	11	26	40	127	9	0	0	0	0	220	78
2 (60-70)	1	6	12	5	7	14	0	1	0	10	0	56	133
3 (70-80)	0	7	5	2	4	2	0	0	0	6	0	26	119
4 (80-90)	1	4	9	2	4	5	0	0	0	1	0	26	81
5 (90-100)	0	7	7	0	7	3	0	0	1	0	0	25	103
6 (100-110)	1	3	5	2	4	9	1	0	0	1	0	26	40
7 (110-120)	0	1	5	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	4	14	45
8 (120-130)	1	3	5	3	1	5	0	0	1	3	0	22	99
9 (130-137)	1	10	13	0	7	7	0	0	0	1	2	41	284
Total	6	47	72	41	74	173	10	1	2	24	6	456	982

Lithics compose 12.9 percent (n = 278) of the Unit 5 collection, but mostly can be attributed to an overlaying zone containing a high volume of cobbles and gravels (see below). The remainder of the Unit 5 collections is composed of far fewer numbers of square nails, olive bottle glass, and brick fragments. Proportions of ceramic types according to origin recovered from Unit 5 are 5.7 percent Goliad Ware

(n = 12), 39.6 percent Spanish Colonial ceramics (n = 84), and 54.7 percent English ceramics (n = 116). Only slightly different ceramic proportions were observed between ODF 1 and ODF 2, with 6.9 percent (n = 6) versus 4.8 percent (n = 6) Goliad Ware, 42.5 percent (n = 37) and 37.6 percent (n = 47) of Spanish Colonial ceramics, and 50.6 percent (n = 44) and 57.6 percent (n = 72) of English ceramics, respectively. The Unit 5 proportions of ceramic types according to origin are different from Units 1, 2 and 3, and are closer to those observed in the Unit 4 midden deposit.

Like all units discussed, the artifacts collected from Unit 5 are predominantly domestic, but archaeologists also recovered a .47-caliber musket ball from Level 5 (60–70 cmbd) of the ODF 2 trench fill zone, indicating a possible military presence associated with the trench fill. A piece of lead slag was also recovered from Level 5 of the ODF 1 midden deposit, indicating the possible production of musket balls at the site preceding the ODF 2 trench event.

Figure 7-22 displays the Unit 5 nonbone artifact counts by feature and per level. The relatively high count observed in Level 1 of both features can be attributed to the collection of chert shatter associated with an overlaying zone composed of a high volume of cobbles and gravels. This chert shatter accounts for 48.5 percent (n = 196) of all artifacts recovered from Level 1 and 70.5 percent of all lithics recovered from Unit 5 (n = 278); 66 percent of all lithics recovered from ODF 1 (n = 69); and 73 percent of all lithics recovered from ODF 2 (n = 127). If the Level 1 lithics assemblage is ignored, the data indicate similar distribution in both features, despite the fact that Unit 5 sampled 0.2 m^3 more of ODF 2 than of ODF 1. Even when the Level 1 data are included, the artifact density for ODF 1 is much higher, with 2,892.3 artifacts per m^3 than the density observed in ODF 2, with 1,539.5 artifacts per m^3.

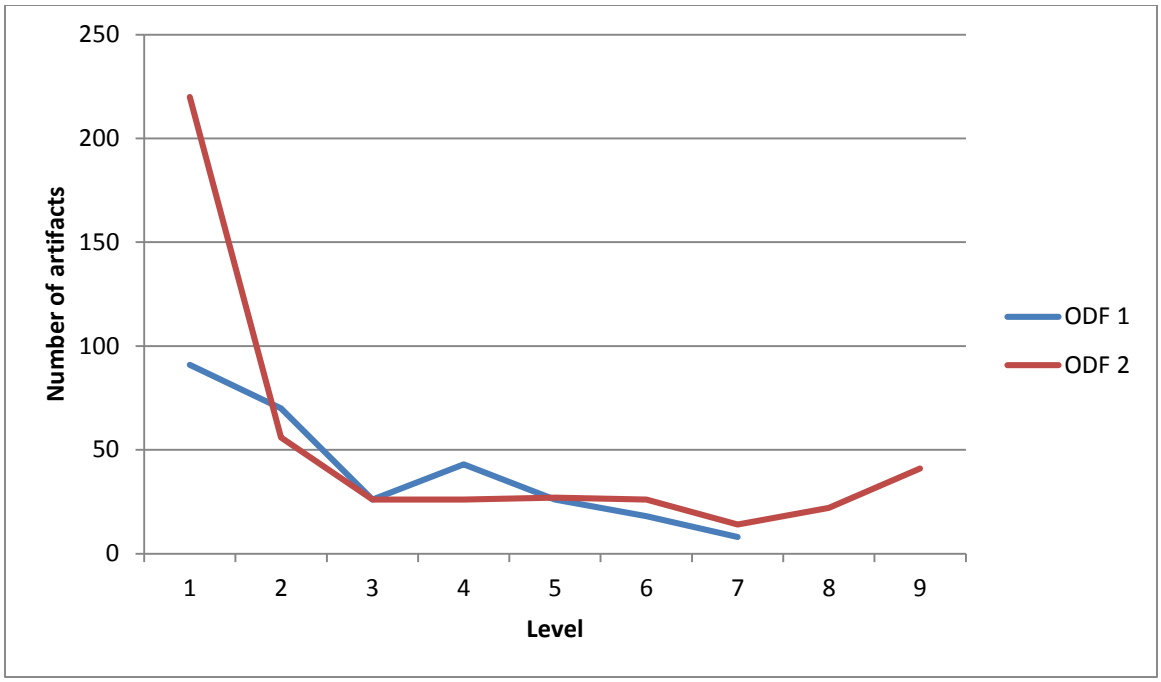

Figure 7-22: Distribution of nonfaunal bone artifacts in Unit 5.

Figure 7-23 presents the faunal bone recovered from Unit 5, according to level. Similar to the data presented in Figure 7-22 above, the faunal data suggest that each feature produced relatively similar amounts of faunal material, despite the discrepancy in area sampled. Of course, the data from ODF 2, Level 9 contradict this trend, a result of the level being composed of the dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) clay loam trench fill with a high volume of artifacts and animal bones also recognized in Units 1, 2, and 3. The faunal material recovered from Unit 5, Level 9, accounts for 19.9 percent by count and 31.6 percent (n = 733.2 g) by weight of the total unit faunal assemblage, and the density of animal bone within Level 9 is 9,015.8 bones or 23,276 g of faunal material per m^3. Even with the Level 9 data included, the ODF 1 midden deposit has a higher density of animal bones, with 4,543.6 (7,644.1 g) bones per m^3 compared to ODF 2 trench fill, which had 3,300.8 (5,290.75 g) bones per m^3.

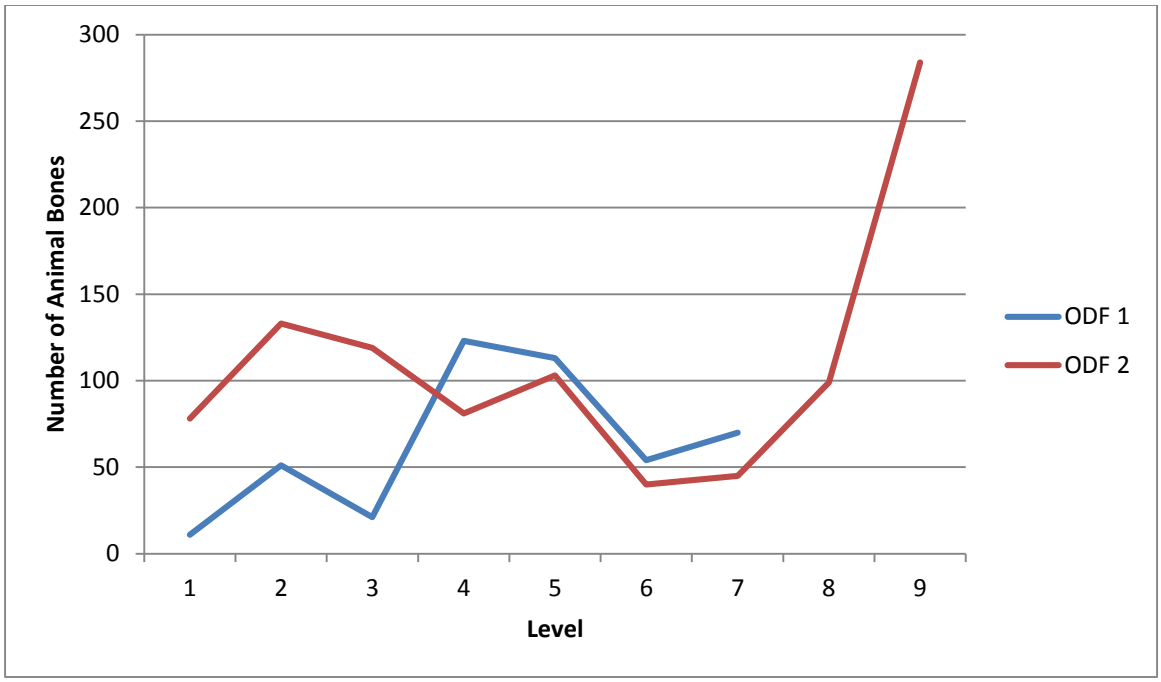

Figure 7-23: Distribution of faunal bone in Unit 5.

Unit 6

Unit 6 was a 100-x-50-cm unit oriented east–west that we placed immediately west of Unit 5 and directly over ODF 2 (Figure 7-20). We excavated Unit 6 in three natural levels, beginning with Level 1 (40–50 cmbd), the overlaying zone composed of a high volume of cobbles and gravels discussed above. Once this overburden level was removed and the ODF 2 trench was exposed, we excavated Unit 6 according to the trench fill soil zones consisting of light gray (10YR 7/2) clay loam in the east half of the unit and dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) clay loam in the west half of the unit. This division remained constant from the opening the unit at 50 cmbd to approximately 118 cmbd, where archaeologists encountered mottled soils on the east side of the unit, indicating an interface with the zone of dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) clay loam with a high volume of artifacts also observed in the bottom levels of the previous units. The remainder of the unit was primarily composed of this dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) clay loam zone that we excavated in two arbitrary 10-cm levels (Level 2, 118–128 cmbd, and Level 3, 128–138 cmbd) until marl subsoil was encountered (Figure 7-24).

Figure 7-24: Unit 6, Level 3 (128–138 cmbd), north wall profile.

Unit 6 sampled 0.44 m^3 of the ODF 2 trench fill, of which 0.17 m^3 was composed of the light gray (10YR 7/2) clay loam trench fill, while 0.27 m^3 was the dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) clay loam trench fill. Artifact types from both soil zones are very similar, although the density of artifacts recovered from the light gray (10YR 7/2) clay loam trench fill is much lower than the number of artifacts recovered from dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) clay loam fill. Table 7-8 provides the frequencies of artifacts recovered from each soil zone and arbitrary level excavated in Unit 6, and Figure 7-25 depicts the densities of artifacts and faunal material (g) per cubic meter for each soil zone (Levels 2 and 3 data combined). The Unit 6 data below reflect earlier comparisons made between Units 1 and 2 and the hypothesis presented in the Unit 3 discussion suggesting that the 10YR 4/2 trench fill zone was much more dense with materials (3,222.2

artifacts and 5,915.9 g bone per m^3 west half 10 YR4/2, Level 2, and Level 3 data combined) than the 10YR 7/2 ODF 2 trench fill zone. Furthermore, the Level 2 and 3 data reflect the same distribution pattern found in previous units with a significantly high amount of animal bone and artifacts within the bottom levels of the trench fill.

Table 7-8: Counts of Artifacts Recovered from Unit 6.

Level (cmbd)	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial Ceramics	English Ceramics	Metal	Glass	Lithics	Building Materials	Glass Beads	Buttons	Mussel Shell	Egg Shell	Total	Bone
Level 1 Upper Fill	2	25	41	32	41	106	13	1	0	14	7	282	470
West ½ 10YR 4/2 (50–118)	2	50	73	17	58	95	22	3	0	19	29	368	693
East ½ 10YR 7/2 (50–118)	0	3	8	2	6	7	3	0	0	2	0	31	94
Level 2 (118–128)	2	12	18	13	6	13	2	0	0	2	0	68	111
Level 3 (128–138)	1	13	12	2	6	6	2	0	3	0	0	45	176
Totals	7	103	152	66	117	227	42	4	3	37	36	794	1,544

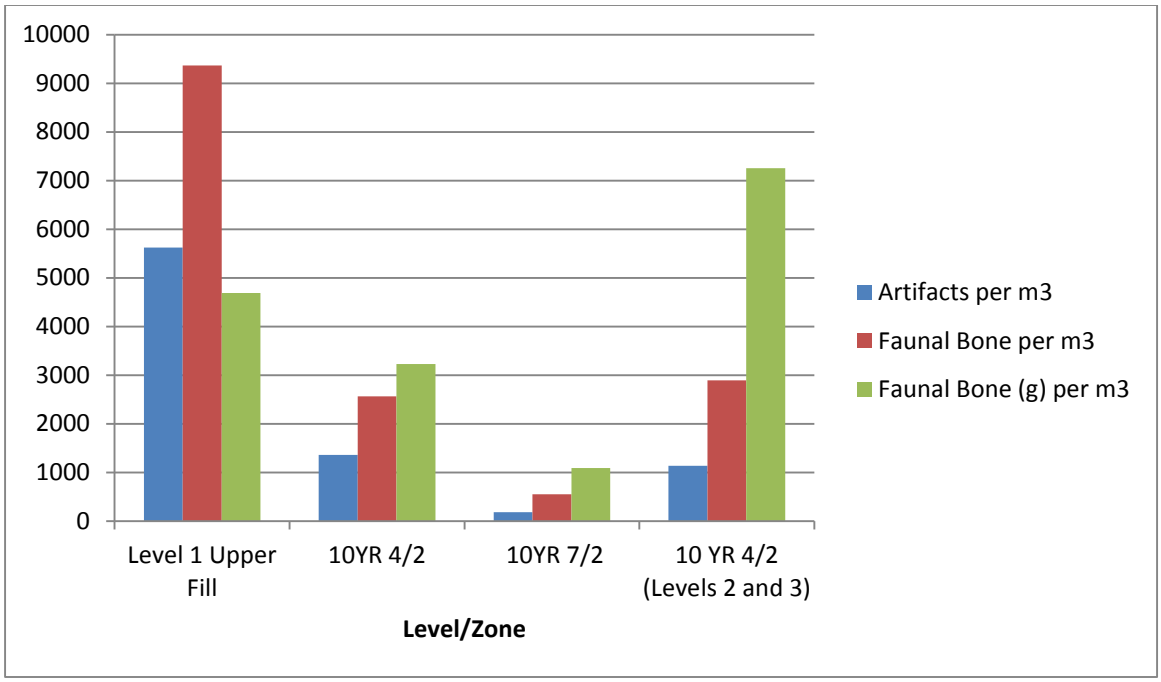

Figure 7-25: Density (per m^3) of nonfaunal bone artifacts and faunal bone in Unit 6.

The Unit 6 assemblage is not unlike the artifacts recovered from the five units discussed above, and is primarily domestic and composed of 66 percent animal bone (n = 1,544), 11.2 percent Spanish Colonial-age ceramics (n = 262), and 9.7 percent lithics (n = 227), most of which came from the uppermost zone. The proportions of ceramic types by origin are closer to those observed in Units 4 and 5, with 58.0 percent of English origin (n = 152), 39.3 percent Spanish Colonial wares (n = 103), and 2.7 percent locally produced Goliad Ware (n = 7). A single piece of .16-caliber lead shot and an amorphous piece of lead (37.91 g) were also recovered from the western half (10YR 4/2) of the ODF 2 trench fill zone.

Unit 7

Unit 7 was located directly west of Unit 6, and was also a 100 x 50-cm unit oriented east–west (Figure 7-20). The unit was placed over the ODF 1/ODF 2 western boundary, with the western two-thirds of the unit over the ODF 1 midden deposit, and the eastern one-third of the unit over ODF 2. We excavated the features in Unit 7 separately and in arbitrary 10-cm levels (four levels in ODF 1 and eight levels in ODF

2), and encountered marl subsoil at approximately 85 cmbd within the ODF 1 midden zone and 132 cmbd within the ODF 2 trench fill zone. The ODF 1 portion within Unit 7 comprised the unstratified zone of very dark gray (10YR 3/1) clay loam recognized in previous units, and the ODF 2 portion was composed entirely of the dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) clay loam trench fill observed in previous units (Figure 7-26).

Figure 7-26: Unit 7, Level 9 (130–132 cmbd), north wall profile.

Unit 7 sampled 0.241 m^3, of which 0.0975 m^3 consisted of ODF 1 midden deposit, and 0.1435 m^3 was dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) ODF 2 trench fill. The Unit 7 assemblage is similar to collections recovered from previous units, and is primarily composed of domestic artifacts. Faunal bone (n = 1,585) composed 68.8 percent of the total unit collection (70.2 percent of the ODF 1 assemblage [n = 998], and 66.5 percent of the ODF 2 collection [n = 587]), and ceramics (n = 310) made up 13.5 percent of the total unit collection (14.5 percent of the ODF 1 collection [n = 206] and 11.8 percent of the ODF 2 collection [n = 104]). The frequencies of artifact types recovered from each level of each feature are provided in Table 7-9 and Table 7-10

Table 7-9: Counts of Artifacts Recovered from Unit 7, ODF 1.

Level (cmbd)	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial	English Ceramics	Metal	Glass	Lithics	Building Materials	Glass Beads	Buttons	Mussel Shell	Egg Shell	Total	Bone
1 (50–60)	1	24	35	11	12	35	11	0	0	3	2	139	337
2 (60–70)	2	18	39	7	32	25	0	0	0	3	27	153	385
3 (70–80)	1	16	56	8	2	7	1	0	0	5	1	97	166
4 (80–85)	0	6	8	0	0	6	7	0	0	12	0	39	110
Total	4	64	138	26	46	73	19	0	0	23	30	423	998

Table 7-10: Counts of Artifacts Recovered from Unit 7, ODF 2

Level (cmbd)	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial	English Ceramics	Metal	Glass	Lithics	Building Materials	Glass Beads	Buttons	Mussel Shell	Egg Shell	Total	Bone
1 (50–60)	2	14	9	1	22	5	4	0	0	0	6	63	140
2 (60–70)	2	7	11	0	17	13	5	0	0	2	11	68	65
3 (70–80)	2	4	9	0	5	2	6	0	0	0	5	33	74
4 (80–90)	0	1	1	4	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	13	12
5 (90–100)	0	1	7	2	6	3	1	0	0	2	0	22	32
6 (100–110)	1	6	3	2	6	7	6	0	0	2	5	39	95
7 (110–120)	1	2	7	1	6	0	1	2	0	0	0	20	32
8 (120–132)	0	4	10	3	6	6	4	0	0	0	5	38	137
Total	8	39	57	13	69	37	32	2	0	6	32	295	587

The overall proportions of ceramic types according to origin recovered from Unit 7 are 3.8 percent Goliad Ware (n = 12), 33.2 percent Spanish Colonial ceramics (n = 103), and 63 percent English ceramics (n = 195). Unsurprisingly, the proportions recovered from the ODF 1 portion of Unit 7 are very similar to those observed in the adjacent Unit 4 assemblage with 1.9 percent Goliad Ware (n = 4), 31.1 percent Spanish Colonial wares (n = 64), and 67 percent English ceramics (n = 138). Similarly, the proportions of ceramic types recovered from the ODF 2 dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) trench fill were a lot like those observed in the Unit 6 assemblage at 7.7 percent Goliad Ware (n = 8), 37.5 percent Spanish Colonial wares (n = 39), and 54.8 percent English ceramics (n = 57).

Figure 7-27 presents the Unit 7 nonbone artifact distribution, and Figure 7-28 displays the distribution of faunal material recovered from each level of Unit 7. Like the ceramic type discussion above, the artifact and animal bone densities in the Unit 7 ODF 2 trench fill are very similar to those observed in the Unit 6 dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) trench fill zone, with 2,062.7 artifacts and 4090.6 (3,034.8 g) animal bones per m^3. However, the densities of artifacts and animal bone observed in the ODF 1 portion of Unit 7 are significantly higher than the densities observed in the ODF 1 portions of Units 4 and 5, with 4389.7 artifacts per m^3 and 10,235.9 (12,146.7 g) animal bones per m^3.

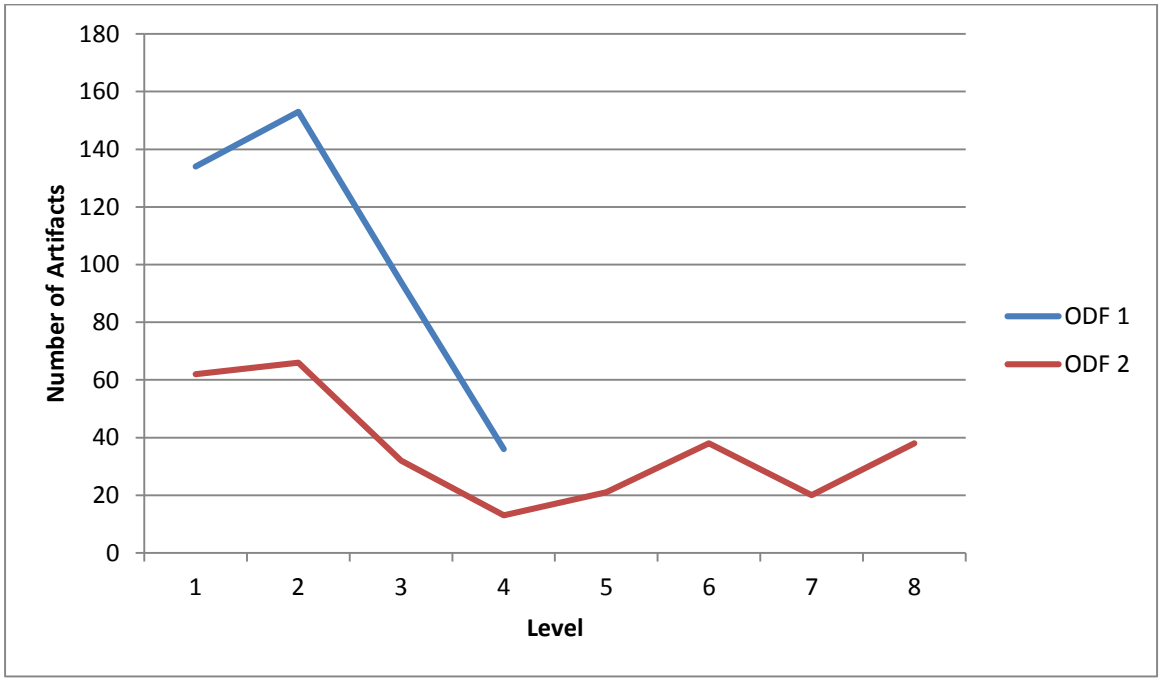

Figure 7-27: Density of nonfaunal bone artifacts in Unit 7.

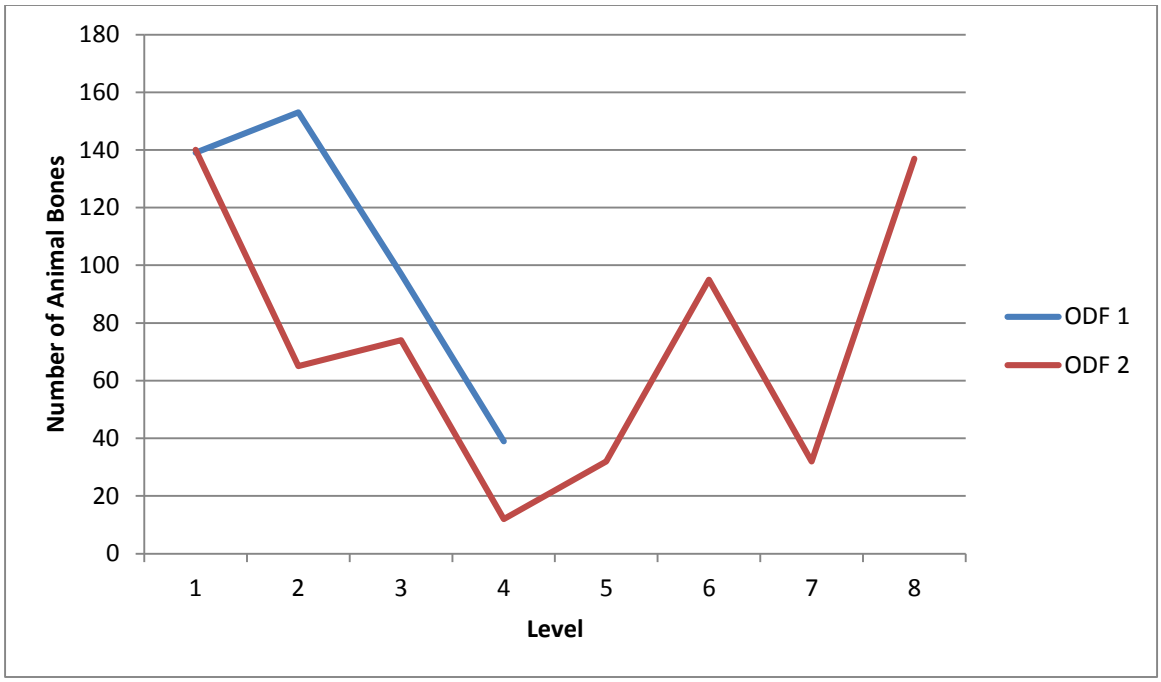

Figure 7-28: Distribution of faunal bone in Unit 7.

Unit 8

Unit 8 served as the investigation's control unit to sample only the ODF 1 midden deposit in controlled levels. We placed the 1-x-1-m unit 50 cm east of Units 1 and 5 (Figure 7-20). The unit was excavated in two arbitrary 20-cm levels, an arbitrary 10-cm level, and an arbitrary 25-cm level. Archaeologists encountered subsoil at approximately 116 cmbd on the north side of the unit and 138 cmbd on the south side of the unit. Excavation of Unit 8 revealed soils similar to the midden components observed in Units 1, 4, 5, and 7, and consisted of a single zone almost 70 cm thick composed of a very dark gray (10YR 3/1) clay loam containing high volumes of animal bones and artifacts, in addition to an uncharacteristically high amount of chert and limestone cobbles in the upper portion of the unit. We encountered subsoil at approximately 116 cmbd in the north end of the unit and at approximately 138 cmbd in the south end of the unit, indicating gently sloping subsoil from north to south (Figure 7-29).

Figure 7-29: Unit 8 south wall profile.

We sampled approximately 0.68 m^3 of the ODF 1 midden deposit and recovered 3,297 artifacts and animal bones in Unit 8. The artifact types recovered from Unit 8 are presented in Table 7-11 and are similar to previously discussed unit assemblages, with high proportions of animal bone (63.3 percent, n = 2,086) and ceramics (14.1 percent, n = 465), and fewer numbers of bottle glass, nails, and chert shatter among other items. The proportions of ceramics according to origin from Unit 8 are 5.8 percent locally produced Goliad ceramics (n = 27), 40.2 percent Spanish Colonial wares (n = 187), and 54.0 percent English wares (n = 251), and are very similar to the proportions observed in the Unit 5 midden component. Archaeologists also recovered a .24-caliber buckshot from Level 1 (63–83 cmbd) and a .69-caliber musket

ball in Level 3 (103–113 cmbd), indicating the likelihood that firearms were relatively common household items and not just military-related items.

Table 7-11: Counts of Artifacts Recovered from Unit 8.

Level (cmbd)	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial Ceramics	English Ceramics	Metal	Glass	Lithics	FCR*	Building Materials	Glass Beads	Buttons	Mussel Shell	Egg Shell	Total	Bone
1 (63–83)	10	62	83	61	116	165	1	5	0	3	5	0	511	779
2 (83–103)	7	59	100	13	44	70	6	13	1	0	13	10	336	587
3 (103–113)	4	39	43	15	13	34	0	4	0	0	4	1	157	444
4 (113–138)	6	27	25	70	37	22	1	1	3	1	11	1	205	276
Totals	27	187	251	159	210	291	8	23	4	4	33	12	1,209	2,086

*FCR = fire-cracked rocks

Unit 8 displayed a similar density of faunal remains to the density observed in Unit 5, with 3,067.6 (7,890.7 g) animal bones per m^3, but Unit 8 also produced the lowest density of artifacts among units that investigated the ODF1 midden deposit (Units 4, 5, and 7), with only 1,778 items per m^3. The Unit 8 artifacts share a similar distribution pattern to that observed in the Unit 5 midden component, with a generally decreasing amount of artifacts per level accompanied by a corresponding decrease in animal bones, although larger bones towards the bottom levels of each unit (Figure 7-30).

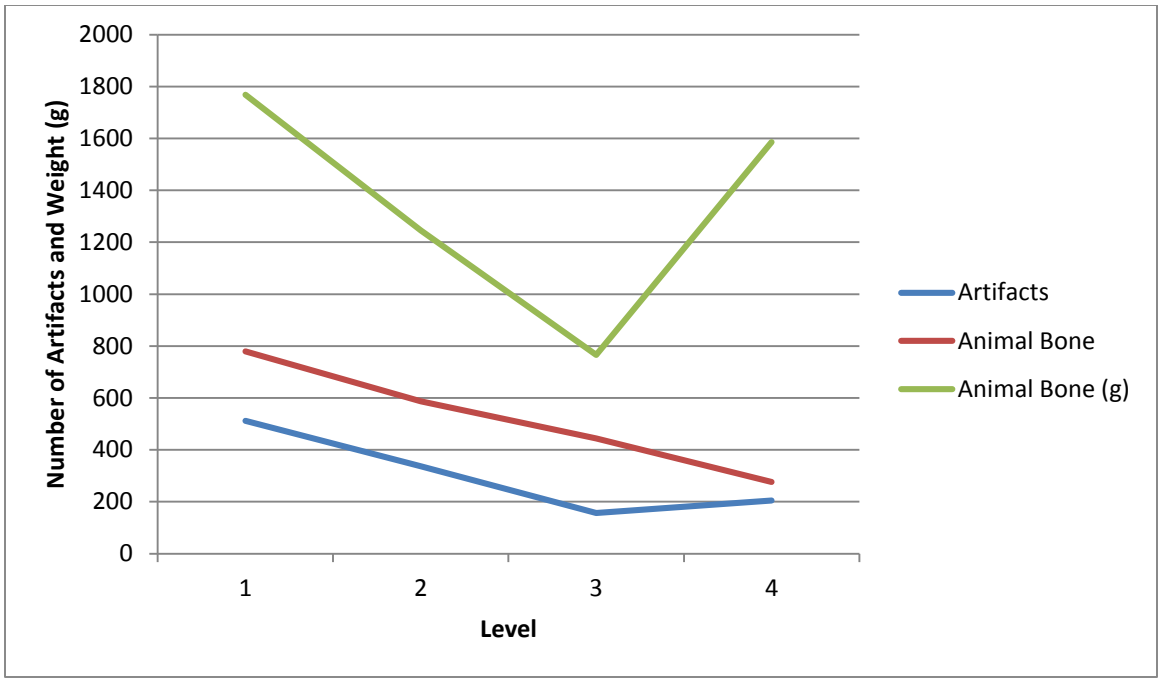

Figure 7-30: Density of nonfaunal bone artifacts and faunal bone in Unit 8.

As a control unit, the assumption is that in Unit 8 archaeologists sampled an intact midden component comparable to the previously investigated midden components. Ceramic and other diagnostic evidence suggest that the midden dates to sometime after 1813 to as late as 1860. The *terminus post quem* date of 1813 is based on the recovery of a sherd of edged pearlware in the bottom level of Unit 8. This sherd has a scalloped edge and is impressed with a "bud" design, indicating a production date range beginning in 1813 and ending in 1834 (Florida Museum of Natural History 2009). The later end of the date range is less definitive, but over 71 percent of ceramics recovered from Unit 8 have a production period ending before 1850, while many of the remaining 35 percent have date ranges that extend into the second half of the nineteenth century, but are types most often associated with the Spanish Colonial period, most notably, lead-glaze wares produced in Mexico that make up 12 percent (n = 56) of the Unit 8 collection. Similarly, sherds of pearlware (1780 to 1840) recovered from Unit 8 outnumber sherds of whiteware (1830–present) 196 to 23, a ratio common across the site and discussed further below. Finally, the only two diagnostic glass fragments recovered from Unit 8 are the

lips of two olive glass bottles with champagne style, laid-on finishes that date prior to the 1860s, and were very common on bottles made prior to 1850 (Lindsey 2010).

Unit 9

We placed Unit 9 directly north of Units 5, 6, and the eastern end of Unit 7 in an effort to investigate the northern extent of ODF 2 (Figure 7-20). The 2.2-x-0.40-m unit was oriented east–west along the northern edges of the previously excavated units, immediately south of the exposed SBC line (see SWT 6/6B discussion in Survey Results), and directly over the ODF 2 trench deposit. We initially excavated the unit in arbitrary 10-cm levels, but early observations indicated that disturbances associated with the SBC line extended into Unit 9, and as a result, the archaeologists removed the upper 30–40 cm of the unit (57–94 cmbd) to expose an intact portion of ODF 2. The portion of ODF 2 that the archaeologists exposed was similar to what was observed at similar levels in the units discussed above, specifically about 1.4 m of the dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) ODF 2 trench fill on the west side of the unit, and 80 cm of the light gray (10YR 7/2) trench fill on the east side of the unit.

Once ODF 2 was exposed, we excavated Unit 9 according to the trench feature fill soil zones beginning with Level 3, the dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) ODF 2 trench fill on the west side of the unit. Excavation of Level 3 exposed an approximately 50-cm-wide interface zone (Level 4) between the lighter and darker trench fill zones at a depth of 111 cmbd. We continued excavation on the dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) ODF 2 trench fill on the west side of the unit (Level 5) separate from Level 4, the 50–cm-wide interface zone, to an approximate depth of 121 cmbd, where the interface zone dissipated and a zone (Level 7) completely composed of dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) ODF 2 trench fill was exposed.

At this point, we excavated the light gray (10YR 7/2) trench fill zone on the east side of the unit (Level 6). At roughly 99 cmbd, we encountered a dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) circular feature with a 20-cm diameter, approximately 2 cm from the north wall of the unit and 15 cm from the east wall of the

unit within the light gray (10 YR7/2) ODF 2 trench fill (Figure 7-31A). The circular feature located in Unit 9 was similar in size and composition to the possible posthole or post mold features observed at similar depths in Unit 3. However, unlike the Unit 3 features, we were able to bisect the circular feature in Unit 9 (Figure 7-31B), and determined that the feature was shallow (7.5 cm), entirely composed of the dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) trench fill, and contained a total of 12 mammal bones (13.2 g), a piece of olive glass, and a banded sherd of transfer printed pearlware.

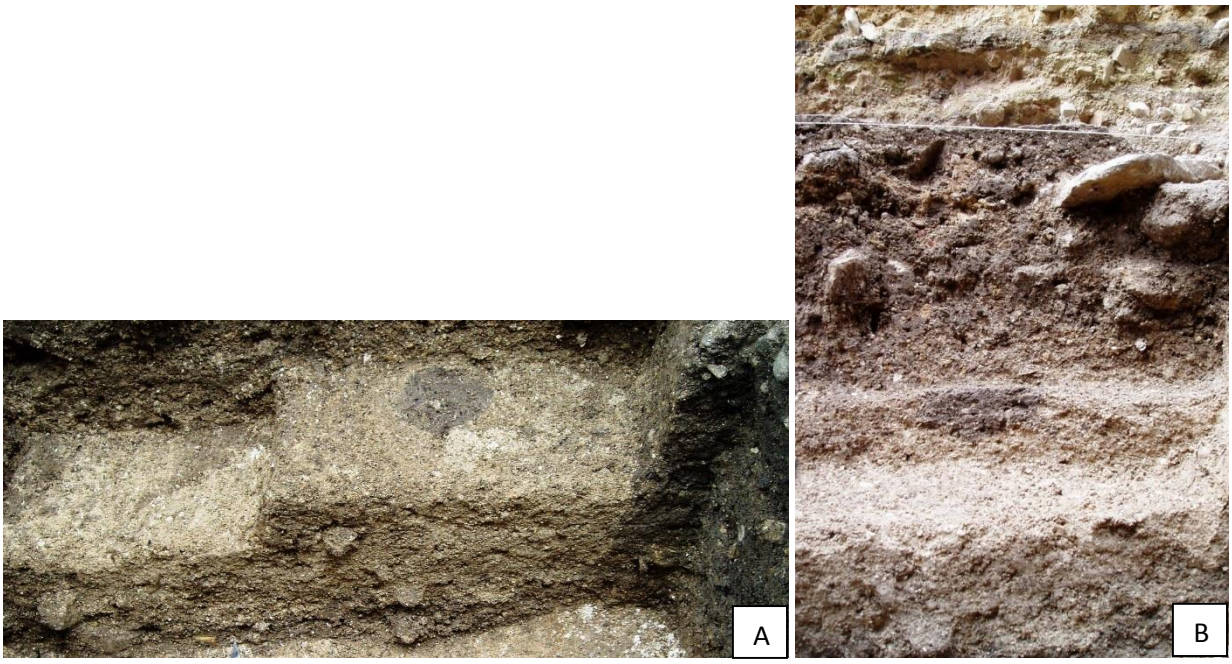

Figure 7-31: Unit 9 Feature and Unit 9 Feature bisected profile, facing north.

Figure 7-32: Unit 9 north wall profile.

Subsequent to removing the Unit 9 feature, we excavated the light gray (10YR 7/2) trench fill zone on the east side of the unit (Level 6) and exposed Level 7, the underlying dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) ODF 2 trench fill already exposed on the west side of the unit. We excavated Level 7 to an approximate depth of 134 cmbd, where we encountered subsoil (Figure 7-32 and Figure 7-33).

We determined that Levels 1 and 2 were disturbed by activities associated with the installation of the SBC line, and as a result, Levels 3–7 of Unit 9 examined 0.352 m^3 of ODF 2, of which 0.256 m^3 was the dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) ODF 2 trench fill, while 0.0864 m^3 was the light gray (10 YR7/2) ODF 2 trench fill. As observed in previous units, artifact types from both soil zones are very similar, although the density of artifacts recovered from the light gray (10YR 7/2) clay loam trench fill is much lower than the number of artifacts recovered from dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) trench fill. Table 7-12 provides the frequencies of artifacts recovered from each soil zone excavated in Unit 9, and Figure 7-34 depicts the relative densities for each soil zone. The Unit 9 data below further confirm that the dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) trench fill zone was more dense with materials than the light gray (10 YR7/2) ODF2 trench fill zone. However, unlike most other units, the bottom level (Level 7) of Unit 9 contained significantly fewer materials than overlying levels, and was the least dense dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) trench fill investigated at 41BX1753, with only 179.5 artifacts and 958.3 g of animal bone per m^3.

The Unit 9 collection is similar to the artifacts recovered from previous units in that they are primarily domestic, and if the Level 1 artifacts are not included, the unit reveals similar proportions to the other units, with 64.4 percent (n = 618) animal bone and 18.1 percent (n = 173) ceramics. Likewise, the proportions of ceramic types by origin, and not including those recovered from Level 1, are very similar to the proportions recovered from the midden deposit in Units 4 and 7, with 63.6 percent of English origin (n = 110), 30.6 percent Spanish Colonial wares (n = 53), and 5.8 percent locally produced Goliad Ware (n = 10).

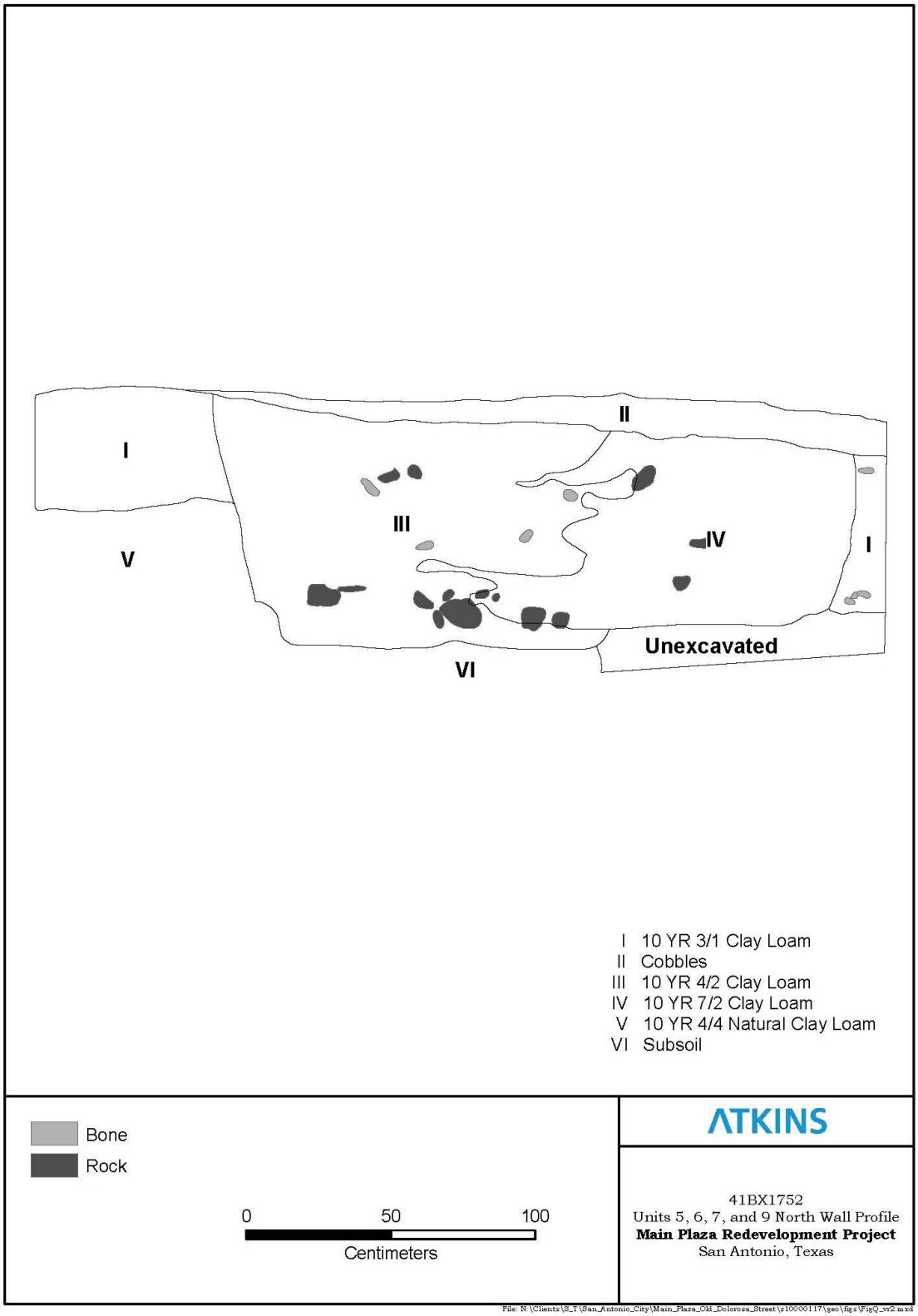

Figure 7-33: North wall profile of Units 5, 6, 7, and 9 (Hanson 2016: 114).

Table 7-12: Counts of Artifacts Recovered from Unit 9.

Level (cmbd)	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial	English Ceramics	Metal	Glass	Lithics	Building Materials	Glass Beads	Buttons	Mussel Shell	Egg Shell	Total	Bone
1 Overburden (57–67)	3	16	59	35	41	73	25	2	0	4	0	258	163
2 Disturbed – Did Not Collect (67–94)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3 10YR 4/2 (94–111)	6	27	47	16	18	37	10	1	1	1	0	164	199
4 Middle Interface Zone (111–121)	0	0	6	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	11	29
5 West Side 10YR 4/2 (111–121)	2	15	38	10	14	14	7	0	0	10	0	110	249
6 East Side 10YR 7/2 (94–121)	2	4	10	1	2	6	1	0	0	0	0	26	29
Unit 9 Feature (99–106.5)	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	12
7 10YR 4/2 (121–134)	0	7	8	1	3	4	4	0	1	1	0	29	100
Total	13	69	157	63	80	135	48	3	2	17	1	600	781

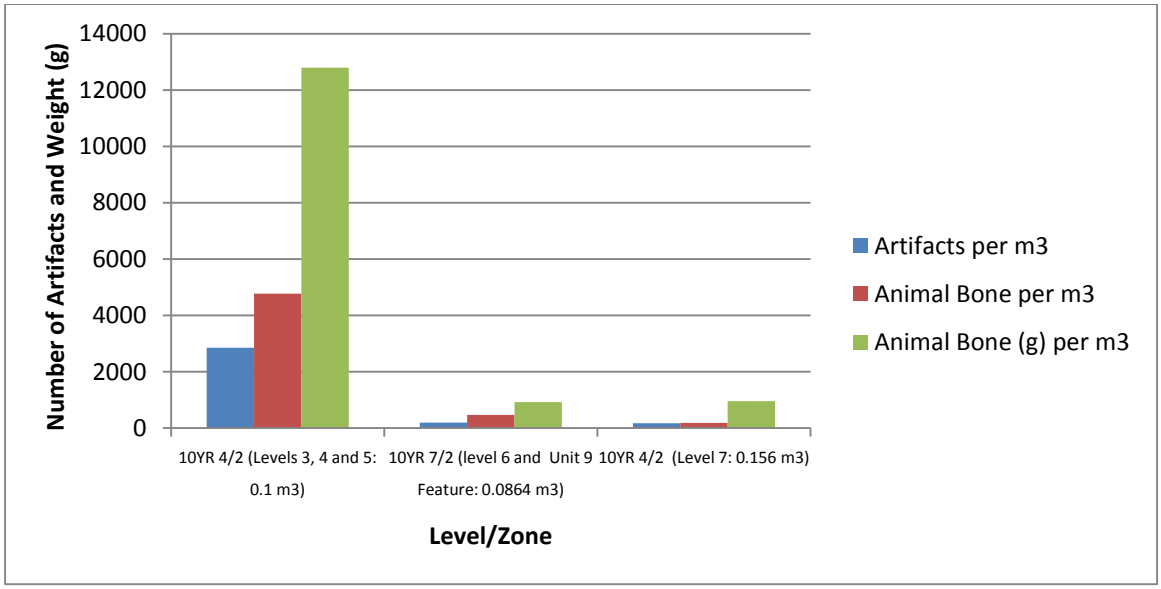

Figure 7-34: Density (per m^3) of nonfaunal bone artifacts and faunal bone in Unit 9.

Test Column 1

We placed Test Column 1 along the south wall of SWT 2, approximately 3.5 m east of ODF 2, and excavated the 20-cm-wide and 5-cm-deep column in six arbitrary 10-cm levels, beginning immediately below the cobble zone that was also present directly above ODF 2. The column was composed of Zone I, a 15-cm-thick zone of dark gray (10YR 4/1) gravelly clay loam with cobbles and charcoal flecks; Zone II, a 6-cm-thick zone of very dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2) gravelly clay loam; Zone III, a 10-cm-thick zone of dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) clay loam lightly mottled with white (10YR 8/1) clay loam; Zone IV, a thin (<5 cm) zone of yellowish brown (10YR 5/6) coarse sand and gravel; Zone V, a 5-cm thick zone of grayish brown (10YR 5/2) clay loam; Zone VI, a 20-cm-thick deposit of dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) clay loam, and terminating at the interface with Zone VII, very pale brown (10YR 7/3) intact clay loam soils (Figure 7-35).

Table 7-13 presents the Test Column 1 assemblage, which, like previous units, is domestic and primarily composed of animal bone (70.3 percent, n = 107), ceramics (15.8 percent, n = 14), and glass (7.2 percent, n = 11). The proportions of ceramic types by origin recovered from Test Column 1 are similar to the proportions recovered from Units 5 and 8, with 4.2 percent Goliad Ware (n = 1), 37.5 percent Spanish Colonial wares (n = 9), and 58.3 percent English ceramics (n = 14). However, the distribution of ceramic types or any other artifact types recovered by soil zone within Test Column 1 does not indicate any distinct or diagnostic pattern.

Table 7-13: Counts of Artifacts Recovered from Test Column 1.									
Level (cmbd)	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial Ceramics	English Ceramics	Metal	Glass	Lithics	Building Materials	Bone	Total
1 (48–58)	0	0	3	3	4	3	1	14	5
2 (58–68)	0	4	1	0	2	1	0	8	10
3 (68–78)	0	1	1	0	3	0	0	5	22
4 (78–88)	1	0	2	0	1	1	0	5	34
5 (88–98)	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	15
6 (98–112)	0	2	7	0	1	1	0	11	21
Total	1	9	14	3	11	6	1	45	107

While the Test Column 1 sample size may be too small to directly compare to data from the previous units, the overall density of Test Column 1 is 9,000 artifacts and 54,116.6 g of animal bone per m^3, and as Figure 7-36 indicates, artifacts were most dense in Zones I/II but decreased to a relatively stable density across Zones III, IV, V, and VI. Animal bone density, on the other hand, increased significantly from Zones I/II to Zone III and then plummeted in Zones IV and V, but increased again in Zone VI, indicating an uneven distribution pattern of animal bone within the ODF 1 midden deposit in SWT 2.

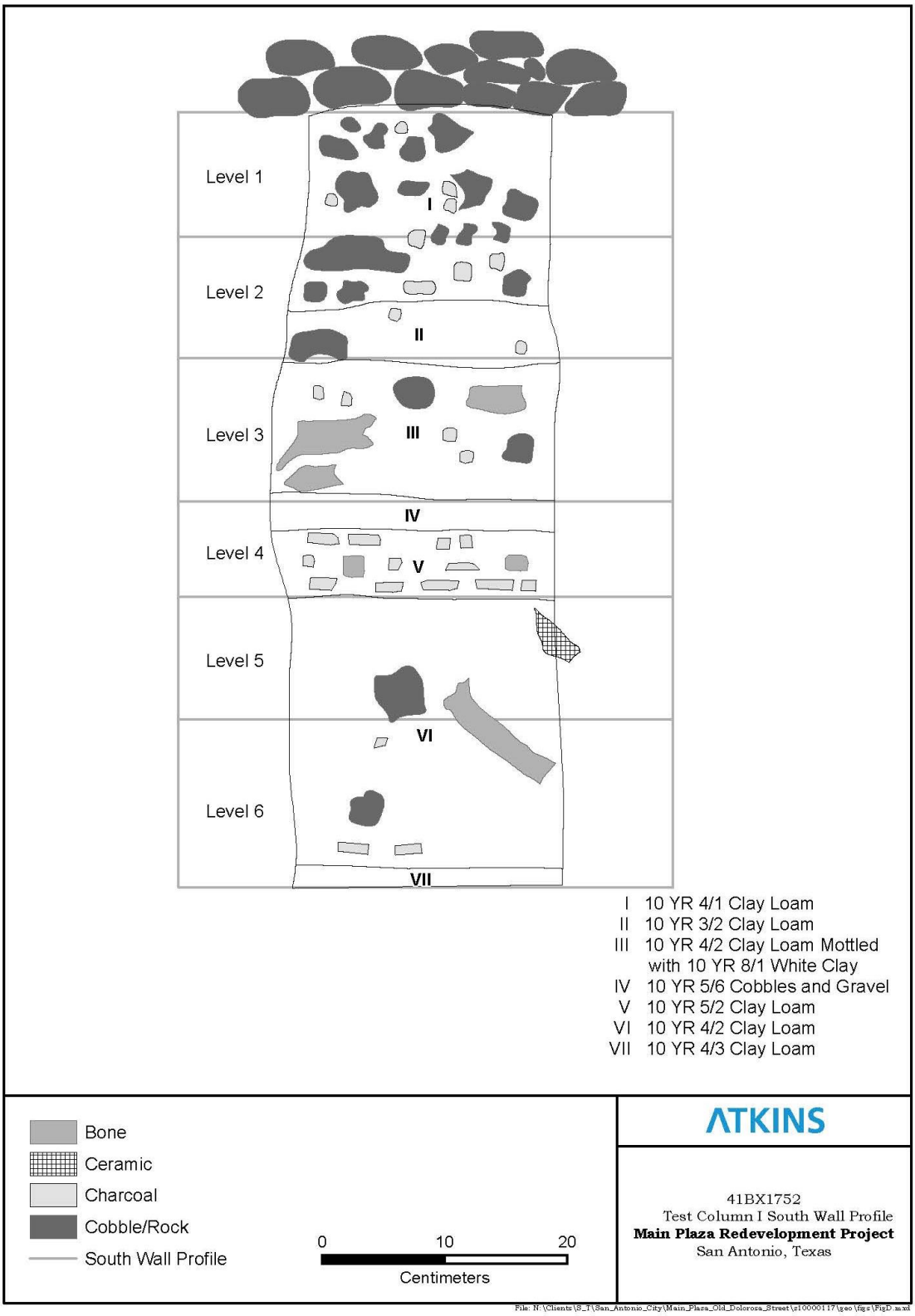

Figure 7-35: South wall profile of Test Column 1 (Hanson 2016: 117).

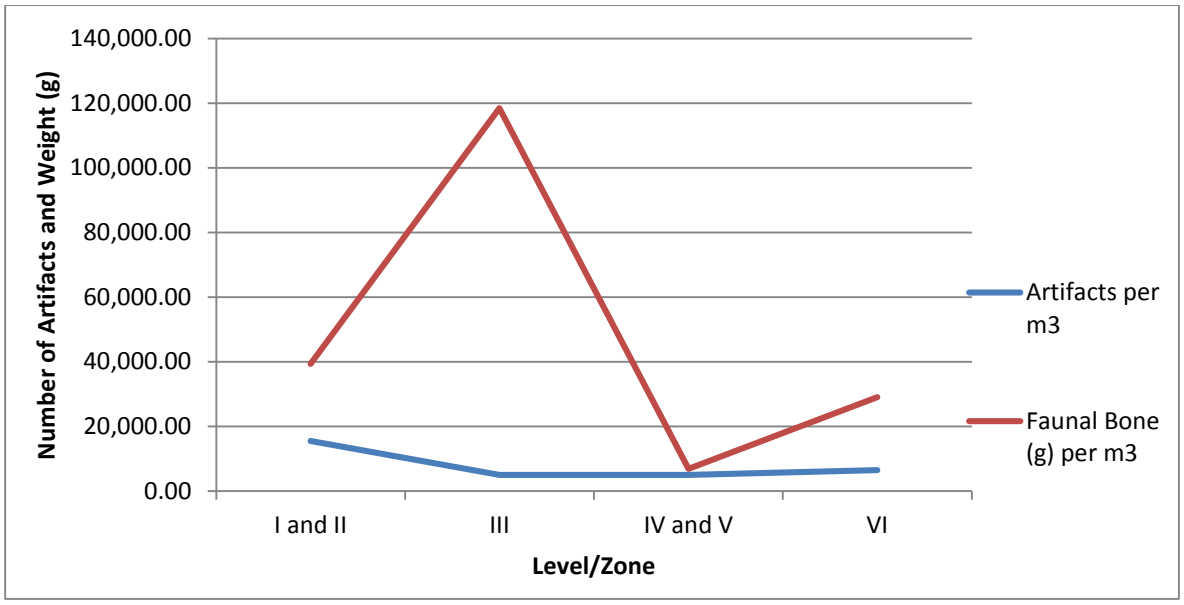

Figure 7-36: Density (per m^3) of nonfaunal bone artifacts and faunal bone in Test Column 1.

Test Column 2

We placed Test Column 2 along the south wall of SWT 2 approximately 1.5 m east of Test Column 1, and excavated the 20-cm-wide and 5-cm-deep column in eight arbitrary 10-cm levels beginning immediately below the cobble zone that was also present directly above ODF 2. The column was composed of 16 distinct soil zones: Zone I, a 5-cm-thick zone of dark gray (10YR 4/1) gravelly clay loam with cobbles and charcoal flecks; Zone II, a 5-cm-thick zone of gray (10YR 5/1) clay loam; five alternating thin (~2 cm) zones of dark grayish brown clay loam (Zones III, V, and VII) and grayish brown (10YR 5/2) clay loam (Zones IV and VI); Zone VIII, a 4-cm-thick black (10YR 2/1) charcoal lens; Zone IX, a 6-cm-thick zone of dark gray (10YR 4/1) clay loam; Zone X, a thin (2 cm) gravel lens; Zone XI, a 5-cm-thick zone of grayish brown (10YR 4/2) clay loam; Zone XII, a 13-cm-thick zone of very dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2) clay loam lightly mottled with light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4) clay loam; Zone XIII, 10 cm of light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4) lightly mottled with dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2) clay loam; Zone XIV, a 10-cm-thick zone of very dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2) clay loam with a lens of light gray 10YR 7/2 clay loam; Zone XV, a 12-cm-thick zone of very dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2) clay loam mottled with very pale brow

(10YR 7/4) and dark gray (10YR 4/1) clay loam; and Zone XVI, a light gray (10YR 7/1) intact clay loam (Figure 7-37).

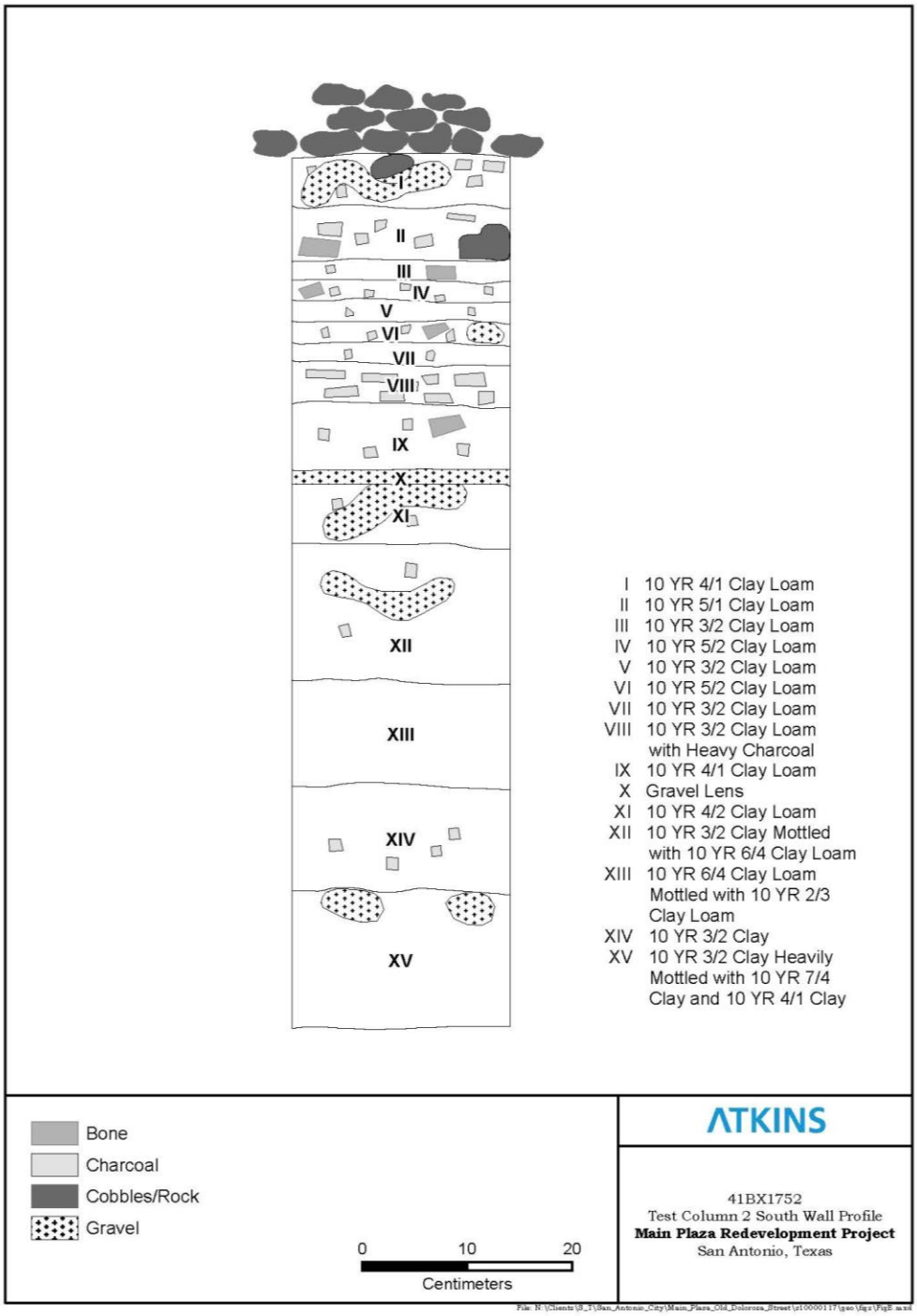

Figure 7-37: South wall profile of Test Column 2 (Hanson 2016: 119).

Table 7-14 presents the Test Column 2 assemblage, which is smaller than the Test Column 1 assemblage, but also consists of domestic artifacts, primarily animal bone (56.9 percent, n = 66), ceramics (12.0 percent, n = 14), and glass (11.2 percent, n = 13). Test Column 2 has a very high proportion of English ceramics (85.7 percent, n = 12) and correspondingly low proportions of Spanish Colonial ceramics (14.3 percent, n = 2), which were recovered in Zones III–XII.

Table 7-14: Counts of Artifacts Recovered from Test Column 2.

Level (cmbd)	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial Ceramics	English Ceramics	Metal	Glass	Lithics	Building Materials	Mussel Shell	Egg Shell	Total	Bone
1 (63–73)	0	0	0	0	7	1	0	0	0	8	10
2 (73–83)	0	1	6	5	5	2	0	1	3	23	18
3 (83–93)	0	0	3	0	1	4	0	0	0	8	19
4 (93–103)	0	0	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	6	15
5 (103–113)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	5	4
6 (113–123)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7 (123–133)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8 (133–146)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	2	12	7	13	8	0	5	3	50	66

Like Test Column 1, the Test Column 2 sample size is too small to directly compare to previous units, but the overall density of Test Column 2 is 5,853 artifacts and 12,463.4 g of animal bone per m^3. Test Column 2 also tested an additional 0.0022 m^3 (Levels 7 and 8) of culturally sterile soil than Test Column 1, making overall densities difficult to compare, but even adjusted Test Column 2 densities are lower than Test Column 1, with 8,000 artifacts and 17,033.3 g of animal bone per m^3. Figure 7-38 depicts relative densities per soil zone, and reveals that artifacts were most dense in the five alternating, thin (~2 cm) zones of dark grayish brown clay loam (Zones III, V, and VII) and grayish brown (10YR 5/2) clay loam (Zones IV and VI). Densities of nonbone artifacts were relatively stable in the remaining zones that contained artifacts, while a steady decrease in animal bone per m^3 can be observed below Zone VIII, mirroring the decrease below Zone III in Test Column I.

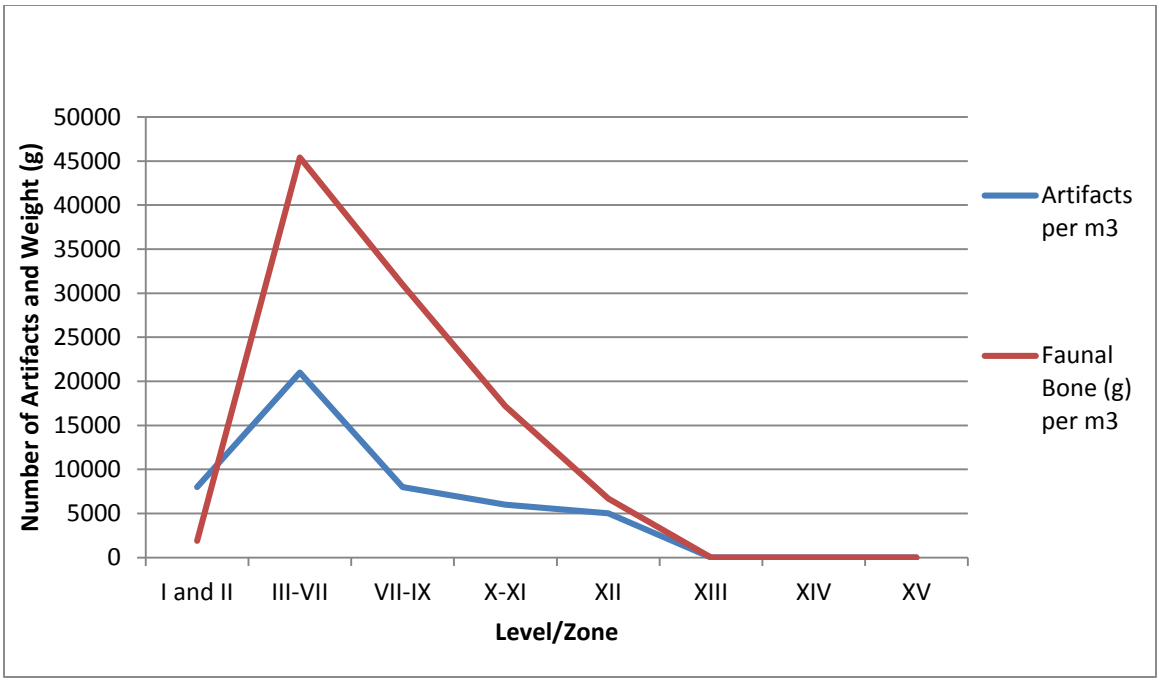

Figure 7-38: Density (per m^3) of nonfaunal bone artifacts and faunal bone in Test Column 2.

Summary

We concluded the data recovery fieldwork at 41BX1752 on May 4, 2007. During SAL-testing and data recovery excavations, we excavated approximately 3.6057 m^3 of soil from the site (1.2215 m^3 during SAL testing and 3.6057 m^3 from data recovery excavations), 2.24 m^3 of which composed the entirety of the ODF 2 trench feature within the storm water drain footprint and south of the SBC line disturbance (Figure 7-39, Figure 7-40, and Figure 7-41). Excavation revealed that the site consisted of a large midden deposit (ODF 1) and a trench feature (ODF 2) measuring approximately 2.5 m wide, 0.75 to 1 m deep, and at least 3 m long that was excavated through the midden and then backfilled shortly after using the same excavated materials.

Figure 7-39: Fully excavated Unit 8 and ODF 2, facing south.

Figure 7-40: Fully excavated ODF 2 south wall profile.

Figure 7-41: 41BX1752 after data recovery excavations, facing east.

Atkins requested clearance from the THC for construction of the storm water drain at 41BX1752 on May 25, 2007. The THC concurred shortly after with the requirement that Atkins archaeologists prepare a sketch of the unexplored north wall profile of SWT 6 following excavation of the storm water drain footprint and prior to installation. Jerdon Enterprises proceeded with excavation of the storm water drain footprint at 41BX1752 on July 15, 2007, and revealed that despite major twentieth-century disturbances including a brick manhole and the SBC line, a significant portion of the ODF 2 trench feature below the SBC lines and south of the manhole was undisturbed (Figure 7-42 and Figure 7-43). Construction activities were able to avoid this northern extent of ODF 2 in addition to the portion along the south wall of the storm water drain trench, preserving intact components of 41BX1752 (Figure 7-44).

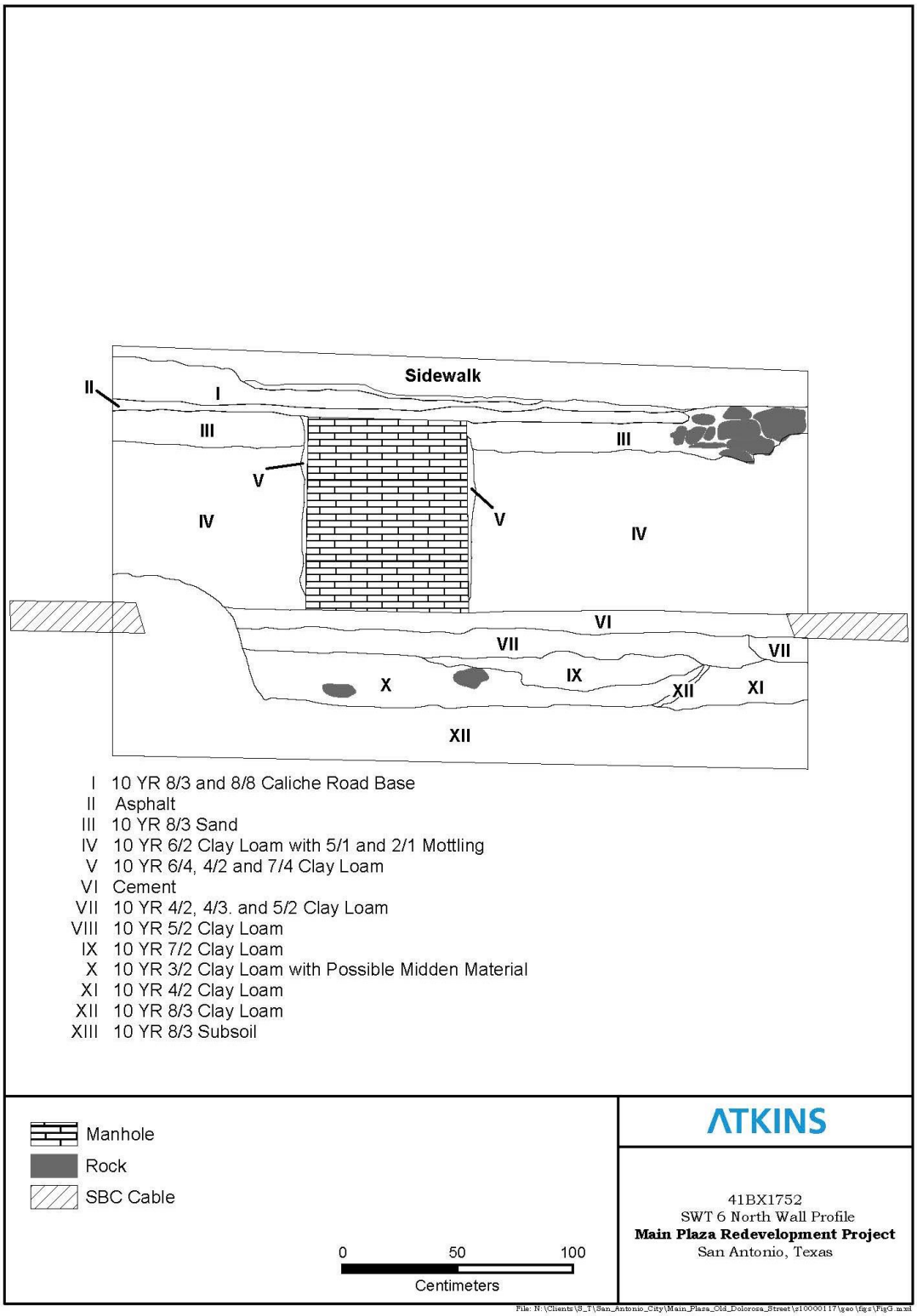

Figure 7-42: SWT 6 north wall profile (Hanson 2016: 124).

Figure 7-43: SWT 6 north wall profile with undisturbed portion of ODF 2 below SBC lines.

Figure 7-44: ODF 2 south wall profile after storm water drain trench excavation.

41BX1752 Artifact Analysis

During testing and data recovery excavations, we collected 15,309 provenienced artifacts from 41BX1752, 68.9 percent of which are faunal bone (n = 10,252), mussel shell (n=172), and eggshell (n=121) while 31.1 percent are nonbone artifacts (n = 4,762). The section below also includes a select few unprovenienced artifacts recognized as special finds and identified as unprovenienced throughout the text. Like the previous artifact presentations, the collection is divided into eight broad functional categories that reflect behavior (South 1977). These categories include Kitchen, Architectural, Household, Personal/Clothing, Monetary, Activities, Armaments, and Indeterminate. Due to the size of the assemblages, only samples of the metal (n = 357, 67.1 percent sample) glass (n = 236, 30.25 percent sample) and faunal bone (n = 3,355, 32.7 percent) were analyzed.

Kitchen

"Kitchen" artifacts are items that are associated with domestic activities such as food preparation and consumption. Functionally categorized kitchen artifacts compose over 14.2 percent (n = 2,180) of the total collection, and at least 45.8 percent of all nonbone artifacts in the collection. Included in this count is the entire ceramic assemblage (n = 1968), which makes up 12.9 percent of the total collection and 38.9 percent of all nonbone artifacts. It was determined that 13.4 percent (n = 48) of the sampled metal and 69.5 percent (n = 164) of the sampled glass are kitchen artifacts.

Ceramics

The ceramic assemblage consists of 1,968 ceramic sherds, of which 61.4 percent are of English origin (n = 1,208), 34.0 percent are Spanish Colonial wares (n = 670), and 4.6 percent are Goliad Ware sherds (n = 90). Table 7-15 provides a list of the 69 distinct ceramic types observed in the collection, along with the types' place of origin, production date ranges, median production date, and a sherd count for each type.

Table 7-15: 41BX1752 Ceramic Types.

Type	Origin	Production	Median	Count
Annularware (Indeterminate Refined Earthenware), Indeterminate Type	English	1780–1840	1810	2
Annularware (Pearlware), Banded	English	1785–1840	1812.5	136
Annularware (Pearlware), Cabled	English	1782–1820	1801	24
Annularware (Pearlware), Indeterminate	English	1780–1840	1810	3
Annularware (Pearlware), Marbleized	English	1782–1820	1801	22
Annularware (Pearlware), Mocha	English	1795–1895	1845	4
Annularware (Whiteware), Cabled	English	1830–1895	1862.5	7
Annularware (Whiteware), Mocha	English	1830–1895	1862.5	6
Creamware, Undecorated	English	1762–1820	1791	14
Edgeware, Embossed Patterns	English	1823–1835	1829	35
Edgeware, Impressed, Indeterminate Feather Edge	English	1785–1840	1812.5	36
Edgeware, Scalloped Rim, Impressed "Bud" Design	English	1813–1834	1823.5	14
Edgeware, Scalloped Rim, Impressed Curved Lines	English	1802–1832	1817	7
Edgeware, Scalloped Rim, Impressed Straight Lines	English	1809–1831	1820	3
Goliad Ware	Native	1720–1820	1770	90
Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware	Spanish Colonial	1720-1850	1785	34
Lead-Glazed Ware, Black Luster	Spanish Colonial	1720–1820	1770	3
Lead-Glazed Ware, Brown on Yellow	Spanish Colonial	1750–1825	1787.5	1
Lead-Glazed Ware, Dark Brown	Spanish Colonial	1750–1830	1790	5
Lead-Glazed Ware, Galera	Spanish Colonial	1725–1850	1787.5	99
Lead-Glazed Ware, Indeterminate	Spanish Colonial	1720–1850	1785	3
Lead-Glazed Ware, Red Brown	Spanish Colonial	1700–1800	1750	25
Lead-Glazed Ware, Smooth Brown	Spanish Colonial	1775–1830	1802.5	17
Lead-Glazed Ware, Yellow and Green Glaze I	Spanish Colonial	1700–1800	1750	46
Lead-Glazed Ware, Yellow and Green Glaze II	Spanish Colonial	1700–1800	1750	73
Lustreware, English	English	1790–1840	1815	6
Majolica, Aranama Polychrome	Spanish Colonial	1750–1850	1800	6
Majolica, Guanajuato Polychrome	Spanish Colonial	1800–1850	1825	19
Majolica, Huejotzingo Wavy Rim Band	Spanish Colonial	1775–1825	1800	1
Majolica, Indeterminate Decorated	Spanish Colonial	1720–1850	1785	71
Majolica, Monterey Polychrome	Spanish Colonial	1775–1830	1802.5	7
Majolica, Puebla Blue on White	Spanish Colonial	1650–1830	1740	28
Majolica, San Elizario Polychrome	Spanish Colonial	1750–1850	1800	14
Majolica, Tumacacori Polychrome	Spanish Colonial	1810–1860	1835	3
Majolica, Undecorated	Spanish Colonial	1720–1850	1785	154
Olive Jar, Late Style	Spanish Colonial	1800–1900	1850	10
Pearlware, Hand painted Blue and White	English	1775–1840	1807.5	68
Pearlware, Hand painted Polychrome, Early	English	1795–1820	1807.5	2
Pearlware, Hand painted Polychrome, Indeterminate	English	1775–1840	1807.5	7
Pearlware, Hand painted Polychrome, Late	English	1830–1840	1835	65
Pearlware, Indeterminate Decoration	English	1780–1840	1810	5
Pearlware, Molded	English	1780–1840	1810	7

Table 7-15: 41BX1752 Ceramic Types Continued.

Type	Origin	Production	Median	Count
Pearlware, Sponged or Spattered	English	1770–1830	1800	3
Pearlware, Transfer Printed, Blue	English	1784–1840	1812	99
Pearlware, Transfer Printed, Dark Blue	English	1818–1830	1824	65
Pearlware, Transfer Printed, Purple	English	1829–1860	1845	1
Pearlware, Undecorated	English	1780–1840	1810	411
Porcelain	English	1720–1850	1785	14
Red Burnished Ware	Spanish Colonial	1725–1800	1762.5	7
Refined Earthenware, Indeterminate	English	1800–1900	1850	2
Stoneware, Albany Slip	English/American	1820–1900	1860	2
Stoneware, Salt Glazed	English/American	1800–1900	1850	4
Tonalá Burnished Ware	Spanish Colonial	1720–1810	1765	27
Valero Red Painted	Spanish Colonial	1720–1820	1770	17
Whiteware, Embossed	English	1830–1900	1865	2
Whiteware, Hand painted	English	1830–1900	1865	6
Whiteware, Overglazed	English	1870–1900	1885	1
Whiteware, Sponged or Spattered	English	1830–1860	1845	1
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Black	English	1830–1850	1840	6
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Blue	English	1826–1831	1829	11
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Blue and Black	English	1830–1850	1840	4
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Brown	English	1829–1850	1840	1
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Dark Blue	English	1820–1860	1845	5
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Green	English	1829–1850	1840	1
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Purple	English	1829–1860	1845	7
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Red	English	1829–1850	1840	1
Whiteware, Undecorated	English	1830–1900	1865	84
Whiteware, Undecorated with Maker's Mark	English	1878–1890	1884	4
Total				**1968**

* Date ranges for Spanish Colonial wares are from Fox and Ulrich (2008); Goliad Ware dates are from Fox (1992:46) and Figueroa and Mauldin (2005:93); dates for English wares are from Florida Museum of Natural History (2008).

The great majority (99.5 percent) of English ceramics in the collection are refined white earthenwares (n = 1,202) of which 67.5 percent (n = 812) are undecorated white earthenwares (n = 513), edgewares (n = 95), and annularwares (n = 204, Figure 7-45). These three ceramic types respectively represent the cheapest refined earthenwares, the least expensive decorated tablewares, and the cheapest decorated hollowwares available in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Miller 1980:5–6). More expensive, decorated English ceramics make up 31.1 percent of refined white earthenwares (n = 374) and include high proportions of transfer printed ceramics (n = 201) and hand painted wares

(n = 148, Figure 7-46). Porcelain sherds (n = 14), represent the most expensive white refined earthenware in the collection, but make up less than 1.2 percent of all white refined earthenwares. Like porcelain, analysts grouped stoneware ceramics (n = 6) among ceramic types of English origin despite the strong possibility that they were not produced in England. However, it is highly likely that stoneware and porcelain ceramics were supplied to San Antonio along with English ceramics in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and as such, the two types were included with ceramics of English origin.

Figure 7-45: Decorated refined earthenwares recovered from 41BX1752. (A) Edgeware with impressed "bud" design found in Unit 7, Level 4 (Cat. No. 101-5). (B) Edgeware with embossed beads and palmette found in Test Column 1, Level 6 (Cat. No. 69-9). (C) Banded Annularware on pearlware from Unit 2, Level 4 (Cat. Nos. 13-20, 13-21, 13-22, 13-23).

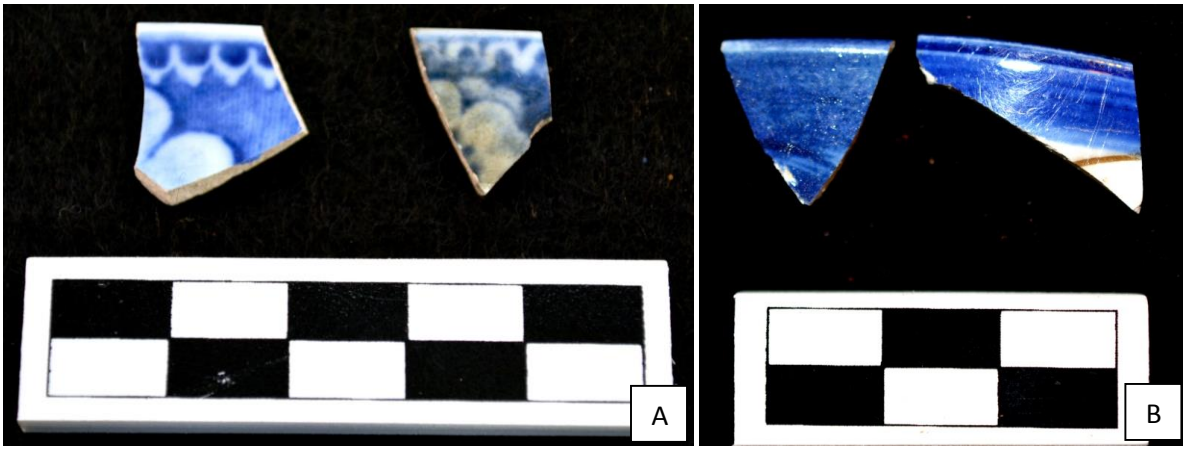

Figure 7-46: Decorated refined earthenwares recovered from 41BX1752. (A) Transfer-printed pearlware from Unit 8, Level 2 (Cat. Nos. 108-51 and 108-51). (B) Hand painted Blue and White pearlware from Unit 2, Level 9 (Cat. Nos. 18-6 and 18-7).

The Spanish Colonial ceramic assemblage is composed 23 different ceramic types, nine of which are distinct Mexican tin-glazed majolicas. Majolica sherds (n = 303) compose 45.2 percent of the Spanish Colonial assemblage (15.4 percent of total assemblage) and are primarily undecorated samples (n = 154, 50.8 percent of all majolicas) or are decorated sherds too small to determine a specific decorated type (n = 71). Of the decorated majolica types in the collection, Puebla Blue-on-White (n = 28) is the most frequent type in the collection, but other blue on white majolicas like San Elizario Polychrome (n = 14) and Huejotzingo Wavy Rim Band (n = 1) are also present. Two types from the Aranama Polychrome Tradition, Aranama Polychrome (n = 6) and Monterey Polychrome (n = 7), are in the collection, in addition to two types that were only produced in the nineteenth century, Guanajuato Polychrome (n = 19) and Tumacacori Polychrome (n = 3) (Figure 7-47).

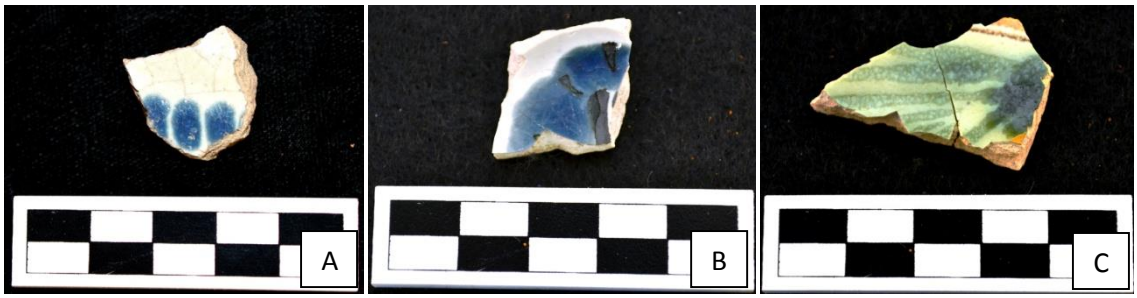

Figure 7-47: Decorated majolica sherds recovered from 41BX1752. (A) Puebla Blue on White from Unit 1, Level 6 (Cat. No. 6-6). (B) San Elizario from Unit 7, Level 3 (Cat. No. 99-57). (C) Monterey Polychrome from Unit 7, Level 3 (Cat. No. 99-66).

Another 40.6 percent of the Spanish Colonial assemblage (13.8 percent of the total collection) are lead-glazed wares produced in Mexico (n = 272), including both fine (n = 152) and sandy paste (n = 120) wares in nearly equal proportions. Decorated Galera (n = 99) is the most frequent fine paste lead-glazed ware in the collection, with undecorated types, Red Brown (n = 25), Smooth Brown (n = 17), and Dark Brown (n = 5), and black luster (n=3) being much less common (Figure 7-48). Yellow and Green Glaze (n = 119) ceramics make up the majority of the sandy paste ceramics in the collection, and the sherds can generally be divided into thicker (n = 46) and thinner (n = 73) vessels (Figure 7-49).

Figure 7-48: Fine paste lead-glazed wares recovered from 41BX1752. (A) Galera Polychrome from Unit 6, Level 2 (Cat. No. 93-23). (B) Red Brown from Unit 3, Level 2 (Cat. No. 20-4).

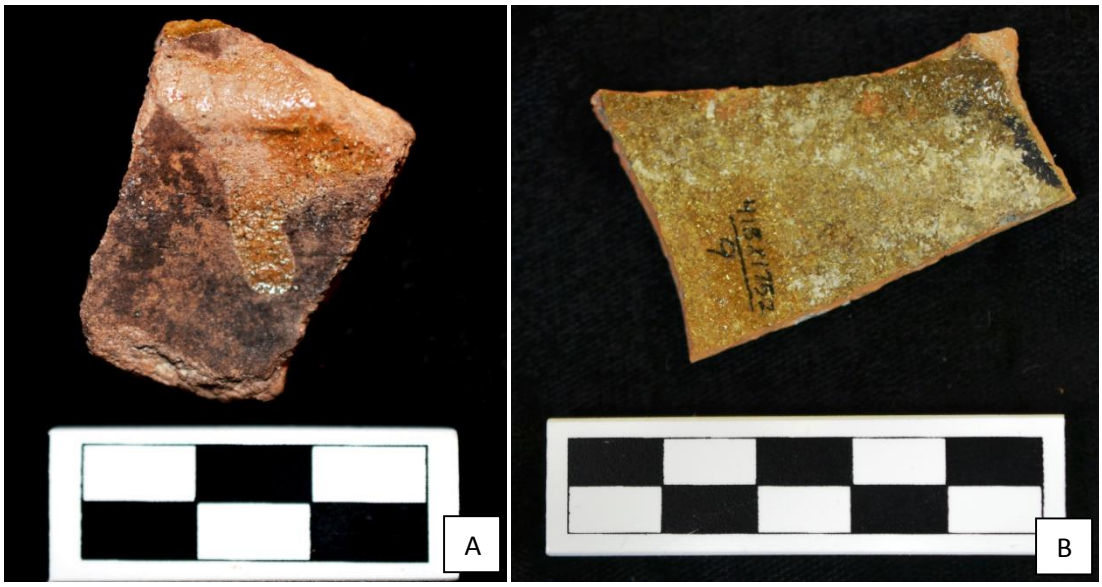

Figure 7-49: Sandy paste lead-glazed wares recovered from 41BX1752. (A) Yellow and Green Glaze I from Unit 2, Level 9 (Cat. No. 18-12). (B) Yellow and Green Glaze II from Unit 1, Level 9 (Cat. No. 9-2).

Two other ceramic types produced in Mexico and found in the collection are Tonalá Burnished Ware (n = 27) and Red Burnished Ware (n=7), while Texas-made Valero (n = 17), Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware (n-34) and indigenously produced Goliad Ware (n = 90) make up the remainder of the collection (Figure 7-50). The Goliad Ware in the collection displays significant variation in the amount of bone temper, paste types, and vessel color, although the sherds are too small to determine vessel types (Figure 7-51).

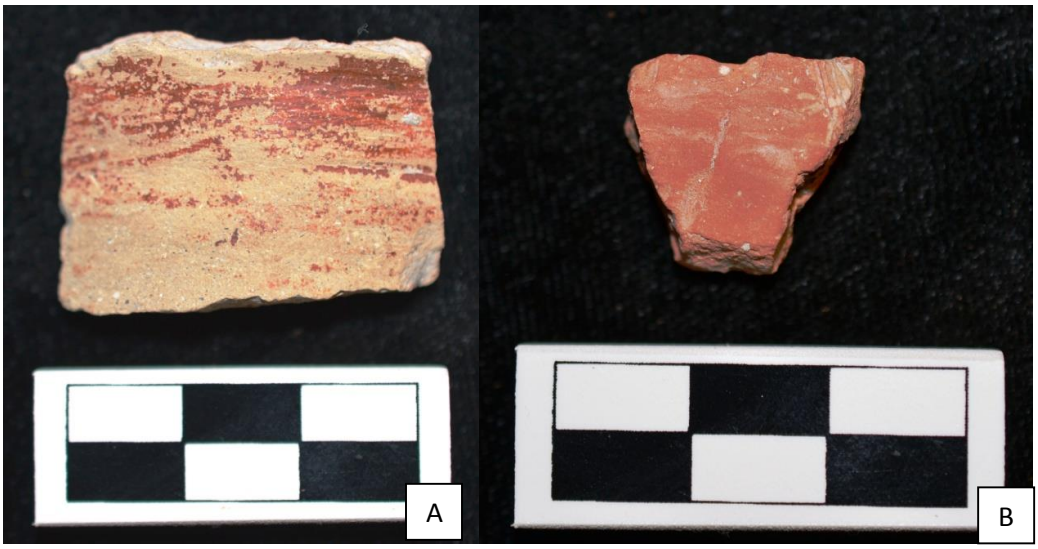

Figure 7-50: Unglazed Mexican wares recovered from 41BX1752. (A) Tonalá Burnished Ware from Unit 2, Level 9 (Cat. No. 18-13). (B) Red Burnished Ware from Unit 2, Level 8 (Cat. No. 26-3).

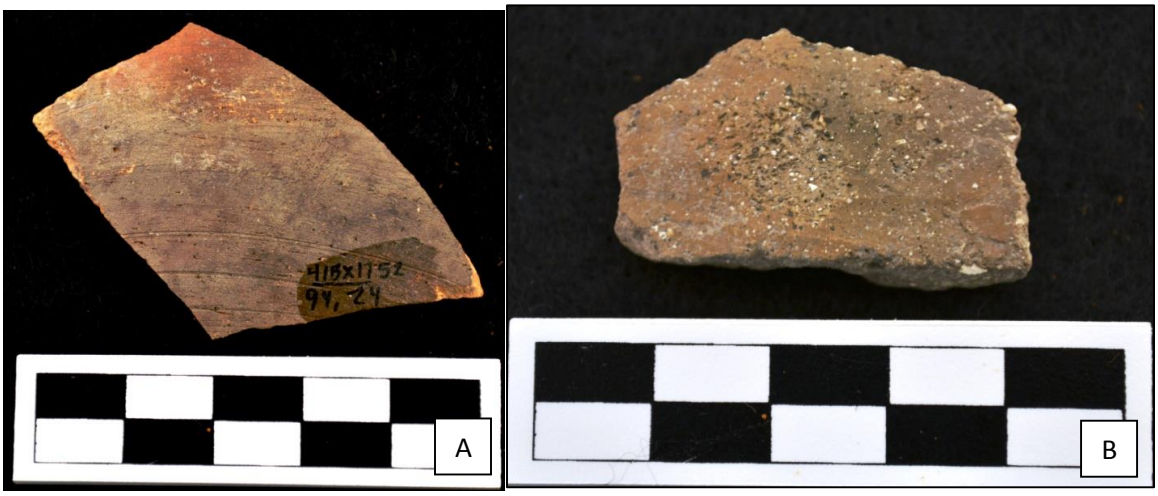

Figure 7-51: Unglazed local wares recovered from 41BX1752. (A) Valero from Unit 6, Level 3 (Cat. No. 94-24). (B) Goliad from Unit 7, Level 1 (Cat. No. 95-59).

Analysts measured a sample of the ceramic assemblage (n = 1,165, 60 percent) and determined that, in general, the collection is composed of very small and thin sherds with an average maximum measurement of 16.8 millimeters (mm) and an average thickness of 4.1 mm. Very small sherd sizes are typical of all the sites discussed previously, but the relatively thin average sherd thickness is indicative of the vessel types found in the 41BX1752 collection. As discussed, 61.4 percent of the ceramic assemblage consists of various types of refined English earthenwares (n = 1,202) that according to the sample have an average thickness of 3.43 mm and primarily represent tablewares and tea sets. However, a substantial amount of the annularware sherds (n = 204) probably represent utilitarian vessels such as mugs, pitchers, or chamber pots, indicating a rough ratio of nearly five to one for service to utilitarian vessels among the refined white earthenwares.

The 41BX1752 Spanish Colonial ceramic assemblage is similar to the refined English earthenware collection as it is predominantly composed of sherds representing tablewares and similar vessels (n = 441, 70.3 percent of all Spanish Colonial samples), and contains significantly less evidence of utilitarian vessels (n = 186, 29.7 percent). Spanish Colonial ceramic types included in the measured sample are relatively thin, with an average thickness of 4.7 mm, which is a reflection of the collection being primarily composed (67.9 percent) of fine paste lead-glazed wares (n = 152) and majolica sherds (n = 303), with an average sherd thickness of 4.3 mm that represent tablewares, small chocolate pots, and other similar vessels. The rest of the Spanish Colonial assemblage consists of sandy paste lead-glazed wares (n = 119) and unglazed wares like Tonalá Burnished ware (n = 27), Valero (n = 17), Red Burnished ware (n = 7), and Spanish olive jar sherds (n = 9) that have an average sherd thickness of 5.6 mm and represent utilitarian vessels such as water jugs, pitchers, deep bowls, and storage vessels. Indigenously produced Goliad Ware (n = 90) samples recovered at 41BX1752 are the thickest ceramic type in the collection with an average of 6.3 mm, and also represent domestic utilitarian vessels like water jugs, bowls, storage vessels, and cooking vessels. When the Goliad Ware data are combined with the English and Spanish Colonial ware data, the 41BX1752

collection appears to be composed of almost 75 percent tablewares and similar vessels to 25 percent utilitarian wares.

Glass

As mentioned, Atkins analyzed a 30.5 percent sample (n = 236) of the 41BX1752 glass assemblage, and determined that 69.5 percent of the sample is kitchen artifacts (n = 164). Bottle glass shards (n = 144) are the most frequent glass artifact type found in the sample, and are predominantly olive-colored samples (n = 109), although black- (n = 20), aqua- (n = 12), colorless (n = 2), and amber- (n = 1) colored bottle glass fragments are present. While the majority of the bottle glass analyzed displays no diagnostic features beyond color, the sample does include all of the temporally diagnostic bottle fragments (n = 9) in the collection and includes evidence of olive-colored wine bottles with laid-on ring champagne style finishes (n = 5) that date between 1720 and 1860, an olive-colored wine bottle with a fire polished finish that dates between 1800 and 1860, and at least three free-blown bottles with pontil scars and kick ups that date between 1720 and 1850 (Lindsey 2014). Other kitchen artifacts in the glass sample include evidence of colorless pressed glass vessels (n = 5), colorless paneled drinking glasses (n = 2), and other indeterminate colorless vessel shards (n = 15).

Metal

In general, the majority of the metal assemblage is composed of fragmentary ferrous materials heavily encrusted with rust, and it is certain that some amount of the indeterminate items (n = 140) in the sample represent kitchen artifacts or other functional categories. However, we analyzed 68.7 percent of the metal artifacts (n = 364) recovered from 41BX1752, and only 13.2 percent (n = 48) of the sample was identified as kitchen artifacts. All of the metal kitchen artifacts identified in the sample are fragments of iron cooking vessels, most of which (n = 40) were located in Unit 8, Level 5 (113–138 cmbd), and appear to be the remains of at least two different iron pots.

Household

Household artifacts (n = 8) constitute less than 1 percent of the nonbone artifacts and include lantern glass (n = 4), mirror glass (n = 2), a single cuprous upholstery tack, and a small ceramic horn, possibly from a ceramic statue of a bull (Figure 7-52).

Figure 7-52: Ceramic horn fragment from a small statue or figurine from Unit 7, Level 1 at 41BX1752 (Cat. No. 95-60).

Personal/Clothing

Artifacts identified as personal/clothing items (n = 42) account for less than one percent of the nonbone artifact assemblage, and include glass beads (n = 19), ceramic beads (n = 2), buttons (n = 19), a small cuprous bell, and a decorative pin made of gold (unprovenienced).

Glass

Sixteen glass beads were recovered from excavation units, and three more were found in association with 41BX1752 but have no provenience. These glass beads vary according to shape, construction type, and color, with barrel (n = 7), donut (n = 7), tube (n = 4), and round (n = 1) beads of simple (n = 10) and compound (n = 9) construction in shades of blue (n = 6), aqua (n = 4), colorless (n = 2), green (n = 2), yellow (n = 2), red (n = 1), white (n = 1), and magenta (n = 1) beads. In general the glass

beads are very small, with an average diameter of 3.98 mm, and most likely represent decorative beads (n = 13) or jewelry beads (n = 6). Nine of the glass beads are identified by Harris and Harris (1967) as European trade beads found at historic-age Wichita Indian archaeological sites in the region, including one medium, red donut-shaped Cornaline d' Aleppo bead of compound construction with red exterior and ivory interior that dates from 1820 to the 1830s (Harris and Harris 1967:145; Figure 7-53).

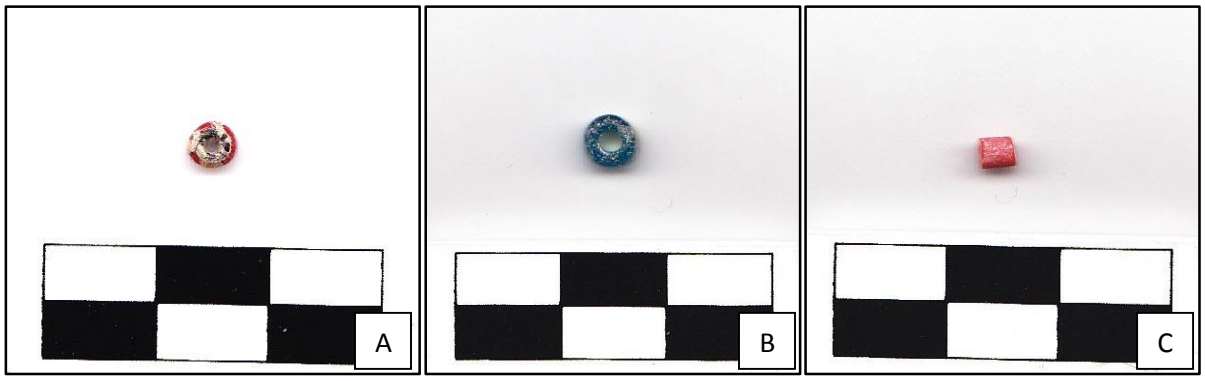

Figure 7-53: Glass trade beads recovered from 41BX1752. (A) Cornaline d'Aleppo bead from Unit 7, Level 7 (Cat. No. 105-16). (B) Donut-shaped bead from Unit 4, Level 1 (Cat. No. 36-27). (C) Tube-shaped bead from Unit 7, Level 7 (Cat. No. 105-17).

Ceramic

Two white, tube-shaped ceramic beads were recovered from Unit 8 (Levels 2 and 3), but are in too poor of a condition to reveal any additional information.

Metal

Three metal buttons were recovered at the site: a small, flat brass button with indeterminate shank; a small, two-piece domed brass button with no shank (unprovienced); and a large (19.02 mm diameter) flat brass button with an Omega shank and an impressed "TREBLE GILT" backmark that was recovered from Unit 5, ODF 2 trench fill, Level 8 (120–130 cmbd; Figure 7-54). Great Britain produced and exported a large amount of gilded buttons for both military and civilian purposes throughout the nineteenth century. However, plain, flat, one-piece buttons with backmarks similar to the one recovered

have been determined to be civilian coat or vest buttons produced from 1800 to the 1830s (Luscomb 1967:79, 163). Additionally, the collection includes a fragment of a small cuprous bell and a small, extremely bent decorative pin made of gold recovered during the mechanical excavation of SWT 2.

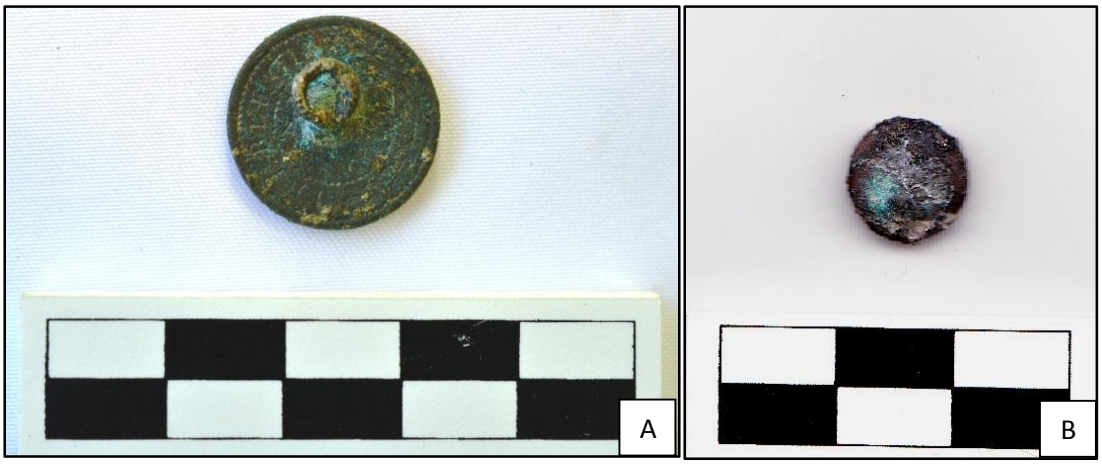

Figure 7-54: Metal buttons recovered from 41BX1752. (A) Button embossed with *TREBLE GILT* from Unit 5, Level 8 (Cat. No. 88-8). (B) Small flat brass cufflink from Unit 8, Level 2 (Cat. No. 108-266).

Bone

Ten medium to large cut bone buttons are in the collection (unprovenienced = 4) and include no-hole (n = 1) and single-hole blanks (n = 4), and two-hole (n = 1), four-hole (n = 1), and five-hole (n = 3) sew-through buttons with an average diameter of 14.6 mm (Figure 7-55). Cut bone buttons were widely produced and used on all types of clothing from underwear to coats throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but fell out of use between 1830 and 1850 (Olson 1963).

Figure 7-55: Bone buttons recovered from 41BX1752. (A) Single-hole, cut bone blanks from Trench 6B (Cat. No. 126-927). (B) Four-hole bone button from Trench 6B (Cat. No. 126-932). (C) Five-hole bone button from Unit 9, Level 3 (Cat. No. 114-100).

Shell

Six small to medium cut shell buttons (provenienced = 5) are found in the collection, including four-hole sew-through buttons (n = 5), four of which display a carved decoration, in addition to another indeterminate sew-through button (Figure 7-56). The six buttons have an average diameter of 9.6 mm and probably represent shirt or blouse buttons from the first half of the nineteenth century (Luscomb 1967).

Figure 7-56: Four-hole shell buttons with carved decorations recovered from 41BX1752. (Left) Unit 5, Level 3, Cat. No. 75-17. (Center) Trench 6B, Cat. No. 126-934. (Right) Unit 6, Level 3, Cat. No. 94-32.

Activity

The activity group consists of 361 artifacts, of which the majority are chert flakes (n = 279) and fire-cracked rock that analysts identified in a 35.7 percent sample (n = 412) of the total lithic assemblage

(n = 1,154). The activity group also contains 11 metal artifacts, and in total this functional category makes up at least 7.6 percent of the nonbone artifacts (2.5 percent of total collection).

Lithics

Lithic artifacts in the collection are the byproducts of chipped stone tool production, and include a unifacial core, primary flakes (n = 7), and secondary flakes (n = 26). Analysts also identified a significant amount of tertiary flakes, debitage, and chert shatter (n = 239) in the lithic sample that may also be the result of chipped stone tool production, but are more likely associated with the cobble zone located above ODF 1 and ODF 2. Analysts also identified fire-cracked rock (n = 79) in the sample, including chert (n = 63), limestone (n = 13), and metaquartzite (n = 3), which may be evidence of various activities including tool making and cooking.

Metal

Eleven metal artifacts in the sample are identified in the activity group and include two horseshoe nails, two copper rivets, two pieces of pencil lead, and two indeterminate lead discs that may be gaming pieces (Figure 7-57). Two pieces of lead slag were recovered from Units 5 (ODF1 midden) and 7 (ODF 2 trench fill), and a piece of lead ore (37.9 g) was recovered also from Unit 6 (ODF 2 trench fill). The presence of these lead artifacts can be indicative of various domestic activities including ceramic production and medicinal uses, but it is also a good possibility that they are evidence of ammunition casting.

Figure 7-57: Lead discs recovered from 41BX1752. (Left) Unit 5, Level 3, Cat. No. 76-27. (Right) Unit 9, Level 5, Cat. No. 118-70.

Armament

The armaments category consists of 11 artifacts and includes a musket ball, a pistol or rifle ball, lead shot (n = 3), a lead gunflint pad, the distal end of a single-edged blade, gun flints (n = 3), and an unprovenienced ferrous pipe identified by Sam Nesmith as a possible nineteenth-century pistol barrel (Sam Nesmith, personal communication 2007).

Metal

An unfired .69-caliber musket ball with evidence of a mold seam was recovered from within the ODF 1 midden deposit in Unit 8, Level 4 (103–113 cmbd; Figure 7-58). The .69-caliber musket balls were often used with English-made .75-caliber Brown Bess muskets, which were common on the frontier in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and were the primary firearm used by the Mexican infantry during the 1830s (Labadie 1986:77). A .47-caliber rifle or pistol ball was also recovered but from within the ODF 2 trench fill of Unit 5, Level 2 (60–70 cmbd), and it may have been used in association with a range of firearms including pistols and rifles (see Figure 140). Archaeologists also recovered .24-, .19-, and

.16-caliber buckshot from both the ODF 1 midden deposit and the ODF 2 trench fill (Unit 8, Level 2; Unit 4, Level 2; Unit 6, Level 1, respectively), which also may have been used with a variety of eighteenth or nineteenth century weapons. A single, unused, lead gunflint pad was recovered from Unit 1, Level 5 (50–60 cmbd; Figure 7-59a). This would have been wrapped around a gunflint to provide the flintlock hammer a better grip on the flint, and since this sample has no evidence of being bent, it is likely unused (Labadie 1986:78).

Figure 7-58: Ammunitions recovered from 41BX1752. From Left to Right: .69-caliber musket ball from Level 4 of Unit 8 (Cat. No. 110-100); .47-caliber rifle or pistol ball from Level 2 of Unit 5 (Cat. No. 73-39); .24-caliber buckshot from Level 2 of Unit 8 (Cat. No. 108-314); .16-caliber buckshot from Level 1 of Unit 6 (Cat. No. 91-208); .19-caliber buckshot from the surface of Unit 4 (Cat. No. 125-140).

Figure 7-59: Armaments recovered from 41BX1752. (A) Lead musket pad from Unit 1, Level 5 (Cat. No. 5-17). (B) Possible Mexican infantry sabre fragment from Unit 1, Level 3 (Cat. No. 3-27).

The collection also includes a distal end of a single-edge blade, which measures approximately 40 mm wide, and has been identified by Sam Nesmith as the sword tip from a Briquette sword used by the Mexican infantry from 1832–1835 (Figure 7-59b, Sam Nesmith personal communication). Similarly, archaeologists recovered an unprovenienced ferrous pipe during the mechanical excavation of SWT 2. The pipe is extremely encrusted with rust, but measures 25 cm long with a 13.6 mm bore diameter, indicating that the pipe may be the barrel to a .54-caliber flintlock Dragoon pistol. Dragoons and similar pistols were produced Great Britain and other European centers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and were commonly used in the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 (Brinckerhoff and Chamberlain 1972).

Lithics

Analysts identified three gunflints in the collection, two of which were recovered from Unit 2, Level 8 (100–110 cmbd), and another from an unprovenienced location. One of the two gunflints from Unit 2 is a squarish, locally made musket flint made of a yellowish-red chert flake that was bifacially worked and pressure flaked on three sides of ventral surface, and measures 29 mm by 26 mm. The other

gunflint recovered from Unit 2 is an English-made pistol flint composed of dark gray Brandon Flint and unifacially worked into a prismatic blade. This type of gunflint was mass-produced in Great Britain during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and was widely exported to the New World. The specimen in the collection is broken, both missing the heel and with damage to the working edge (Kenmotsu 1990:96). The unprovenienced gunflint in the collection is a locally made rifle or pistol flint and is a bifacially worked flake with pressure flakes on the heel of the ventral surface and evidence of both sides being snapped off. This gunflint is also broken and is missing most of its working edge.

Monetary

A single cuprous coin weighing 1.33 g with a 16.3-mm diameter was recovered from Level 4 (93–103 cmbd) of Test Column 2 (Figure 7-60). While the coin is in very poor condition, a stamped number eight is legible on the bottom of the obverse, and an indeterminate stamp appears in the center of the reverse. The size, font, and orientation of the stamped eight does not appear to match either the 1817 Barrera or the 1818 de la Garza jolas (half reales), but the indeterminate coin does match their general size, weight, and reverse stamp position.

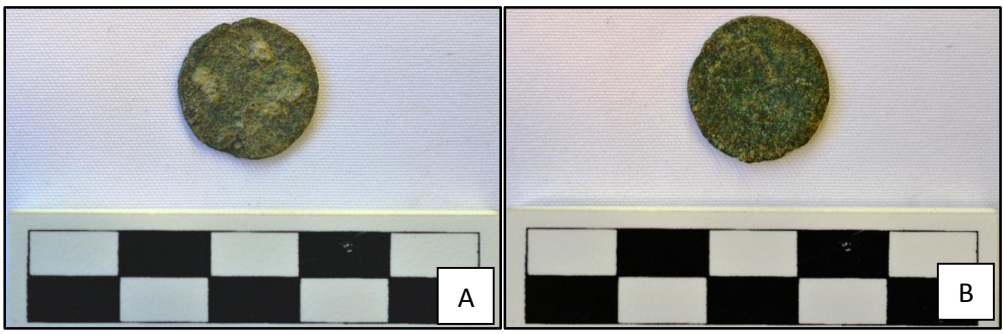

Figure 7-60: 1817 or 1818 jola half real (Cat. No. 66-7). (A) obverse; (B) reverse.

Architecture

Artifacts functionally categorized as architectural items (n = 436) include brick, plaster, and stone building materials (n = 280), iron nails (152), and window glass (n = 1) and are the second largest

functionally defined group, making up at least 9.2 percent of all nonbone artifacts and 2.9 percent of the total collection.

Building Materials

Analysts analyzed a 41 percent sample (n = 119) of artifacts initially categorized as building materials (n = 290) and identified fired brick fragments (n = 77), plaster fragments (n = 32), sandstone (n = 9), and a large piece of quartz arenite (n = 1).

Metal

Square nails and square nail fragments (n = 152) compose the entire architectural metal artifact collection. Because these specimens are heavily encrusted with rust, analysts could not determine whether they are wrought or cut nails, but examples of complete nails (n = 18) indicate a large variety of nail sizes with an average length of 45 mm (12d).

Glass

A single flat glass fragment determined to be window glass was recovered from Test Column 1, Level 3 (68–80 cmbd).

Indeterminate Artifacts

Analysts focused on diagnostic and identifiable artifacts when they sampled the glass, lithic, and metal assemblages. However, these collections also included a number of items that could not be assigned a function based on the condition or size of the artifact. The metal sample (n = 364) contains indeterminate cuprous (n = 19) and ferrous (n = 121) items making up 38.5 percent of the sample and are primarily ferrous fragments heavily encrusted with rust. Indeterminate aqua (n = 10), colorless (n = 54),

and olive (n = 1) glass make up 27.5 percent of the glass sample and are generally very small (<1 cm) shards with no distinguishable characteristics.

Faunal Material

The largest component of the collection, making up approximately 68 percent of the total collection, consists of faunal materials including animal bone (n = 9,794), shell (n = 167), and eggshell (n = 128). Analysts examined a 33.25 percent sample (n = 3,355) of the total faunal collection (n = 10,089) and determined that the specimens are extremely fragmentary, and as such, 94 percent were classified as indeterminate mammal (n = 2,727), large mammal (n = 136), medium mammal (n = 86), small mammal (n = 29), bird (n = 35), fish (n = 9), reptile (n = 1), and eggshell (n = 128). Table 7-16 provides the results of the faunal material sample and indicates that 61.3 percent of the sample is domesticated animals, predominantly cattle (n = 86, 68.8 percent of domesticated animals) and goats or sheep (n = 28, 22.4 percent of domesticated animals). Specimens conclusively identified as wild animals compose 34.4 percent of the identified specimen and are largely fresh water mussels (n = 56, 80 percent of wild animals), but also include two species of deer (n = 5), collared peccary or javelinas (n = 2), turtles (n = 2), a snake (n = 1), a rodent (n = 1), and an oyster (n = 1).

Table 7-16: 41BX1752 Faunal Sample.

Scientific Name	Common Name	NISP	% of NISP
Artiodactyla, Indeterminate	Goat/Sheep/Deer	4	2
Bovinae	Cattle/Bison	5	2.4
Bos taurus	Cattle	86	42.1
Capra hircus	Goat	4	2
Caprinae, Indeterminate	Goat/Sheep	22	10.8
Chelonii	Turtles	2	1
Crassostrea virginica	Oysters	1	0.5
Equus f. caballus	Horses	2	1
Lampsilis	Freshwater Mussel	56	27.4
Odocoileus virginianus	White-tailed Deer	4	2
Odocoileus hemionus	Mule Deer	1	0.5
Ovis aries	Sheep	2	1

Table7-16: 41BX1752 Faunal Sample Continued.			
Scientific Name	**Common Name**	**NISP**	**% of NISP**
Pecari tajacu	Collared Peccary	2	1
Rabdotus	Land Snail	1	0.5
Rodentia	Rodents	1	0.5
Serpentes	Snakes	1	0.5
Sus scrofa	Pig	9	4.4
Veneroida	Freshwater Clam	1	0.5
Total NISP		204	
Mammal, Indeterminate		2,727	
Large Mammal, Indeterminate		136	
Medium Mammal, Indeterminate		86	
Small Mammal, Indeterminate		29	
Bird, Indeterminate		35	
Fish, Indeterminate		9	
Reptile, Indeterminate		1	
Egg Shell, Indeterminate		128	
Total		**3,151**	

Of the identified bone types found in the vertebrate faunal sample, there is a near even ratio of meat-bearing (n = 158) to nonmeat-bearing bones (n = 138). Analysts broadly defined these categories and included all bone types except for skull and foot bones within the meat-bearing bone category, which is composed of specimens from large (n = 96), medium (n = 48), small (n = 5), and indeterminate mammals (n = 2). Conversely, nonmeat-bearing bones included specimens identified as skull, teeth, and horns (n = 110) from large (n = 36), medium (n = 35), and indeterminate mammals (n = 39), as well as various foot bones (n = 28) from large (n = 12), medium (n = 15), and small mammals (n = 1). The vertebrate faunal sample also includes specimens that display direct evidence of butchering activities, particularly at the distal ends of long bones (Figure 143). These data are evidence of both processing and consumption of domestic and wild animals, and because they are found within a midden that predominantly contained kitchen artifacts (14.5 percent of total collection and 45.8 percent of all nonbone artifacts), it is likely that the processing of animals for consumption was also a domestic activity.

Figure 7-61: Examples of cut bone recovered from 41BX1752. (A) *Bos taurus* rib with butchering marks from Unit 1, Level 5 (Cat. No. 5-10). (B) *Caprinae* ulna with saw marks from Unit 1, Level 9 (Cat. No. 9-6). (C) *Caprinae* humerus with saw marks from Unit 1 & 3, Level 10/17 (Cat. No. 35-31). (D) *Bos taurus* calcaneus from Unit 1 & 3, Level 10/17 (Cat. No. 35-28).

Discussion

The evidence above indicates that 41BX1752 is composed of ODF1, an early nineteenth-century domestic midden that was later bisected by ODF 2, a ditch feature measuring approximately 2.25 meters wide and almost one meter deep. According to the archival record, the Padrón-Cháves family were the only occupants of the southeast corner of the Main Plaza from at least the 1813 revolution (if not before) through the Mexican Era. It is certain that the Padrón-Cháves family was still occupying the entire lot north of the site in 1835 when the Plaza, including the southeast corner, was fortified by General Cos' army. Based on the similarities between the ODF 1 and 2 presented above and expanded upon below, the evidence suggests that Mexican infantry soldiers excavated through the Padrón-Cháves family refuse midden to acquire the soil to construct the earthen fortification. The earth work was subsequently backfilled into the ditch a relatively short time after the construction of the fortification which resulted in the two discrete trench fill zones observed in ODF 2. The intentions of the testing and data recovery

efforts at 41BX1752 were to delineate and define the trench feature to determine if it was associated with the Siege of *Béxar*. While the investigations were successful in linking the archaeological record with this specific event in history, we also collected a wealth of evidence that provides insight into the material conditions of domestic life during the early nineteenth century that coincidentally can be dated relative to the entrenchment feature.

The ODF 1 midden deposit is clearly a domestic midden. Like the other domestic sites discussed in previous chapters, faunal materials make up the majority (68.8 percent) of the total collection and represent discarded food items and animal processing practices. Unlike the other sites discussed where ratios were nearly even, the ratio of domesticated to wild animal remains in the 41BX1752 faunal sample is nearly two to one and is primarily composed of cattle (42.1 percent). Kitchen artifacts constitute 14.25 percent (n = 2,180) of the total collection, and at least 45.8 percent of all nonbone artifacts in the collection, while artifacts functionally categorized as Architecture (n = 436) account for only 2.9 percent of total collection and 9.2 percent of all nonfaunal artifacts. This high ratio of Kitchen to Architecture artifacts conforms to the definition of a domestic site according to Stanley South's Carolina Pattern, which argues that "the by-product of a specified activity has a consistent frequency relationship to the by-products of all other activities in direct proportion to the organized integration of various activities" (South 1978:228).

Table 7-17 and Figure 7-62 depict the counts and proportions of artifact classes and ceramic types according to origin from proveniences with clear associations with each feature[38]. These data reveal that despite differences in density, each feature is comprised of near even proportions of every major artifact class and near even proportions of ceramic types according to origin. Predictably, faunal materials

[38] ODF 1 includes data collected from Unit 4, Units 5 and 7 midden deposits and Unit 8 while ODF 2 data is comprised of materials collected from Units 2 and 3, Units 5 and 7 trench fill deposits, and Units 6 and 9 minus the "upper fill" zones from these two units that were determined to be disturbed contexts.

comprise just under 68 percent of each collection while ceramics make up 13 and 12.8 percent of the respective total collections and 40.6 and 39.3 percent of each features' non-bone artifact collection. Although there are noticeable differences in the proportions of metal artifacts and building materials in the two features, a chi-square test for significance comparing the proportions of ceramics and animal bones, or 80.95 and 80.31 percent of each respective collection, reveals that there is no significant difference between the two assemblages (p=0.79, degrees of freedom=1).

Table 7-17: Counts and proportions of artifact classes recovered from ODF 1 and ODF 2.

Feature	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial Ceramics	English Ceramics	Metal	Glass	Lithics	Building Materials	Mussel Shell	Egg Shell	Non-bone Total	Bone	Total
ODF 1 Totals	42	331	521	264	338	510	57	78	43	2,203	4,668	6871
ODF 1 % of Non-bone	1.9%	15.0%	23.6%	11.9%	15.3%	23.15%	2.6%	3.5%	1.9%	99.1%	N/A	31.8%
ODF 1 % of Total	0.61%	4.8%	7.6%	3.8%	4.9%	7.4%	0.83%	1.1%	0.63%	31.8%	67.9%	99.7%
ODF 2 Totals	40	267	503	160	315	447	174	71	68	2,060	4,288	6348
ODF 2 % of Non-bone	1.9%	12.9%	24.4%	7.7%	15.3%	21.7%	8.4%	3.4%	3.3%	99.3%	N/A	32.2%
ODF 2 % of Total	0.63%	4.2%	7.9%	2.5%	4.9%	7.0%	2.7%	1.1%	1.1%	32.2%	67.5%	99.2%

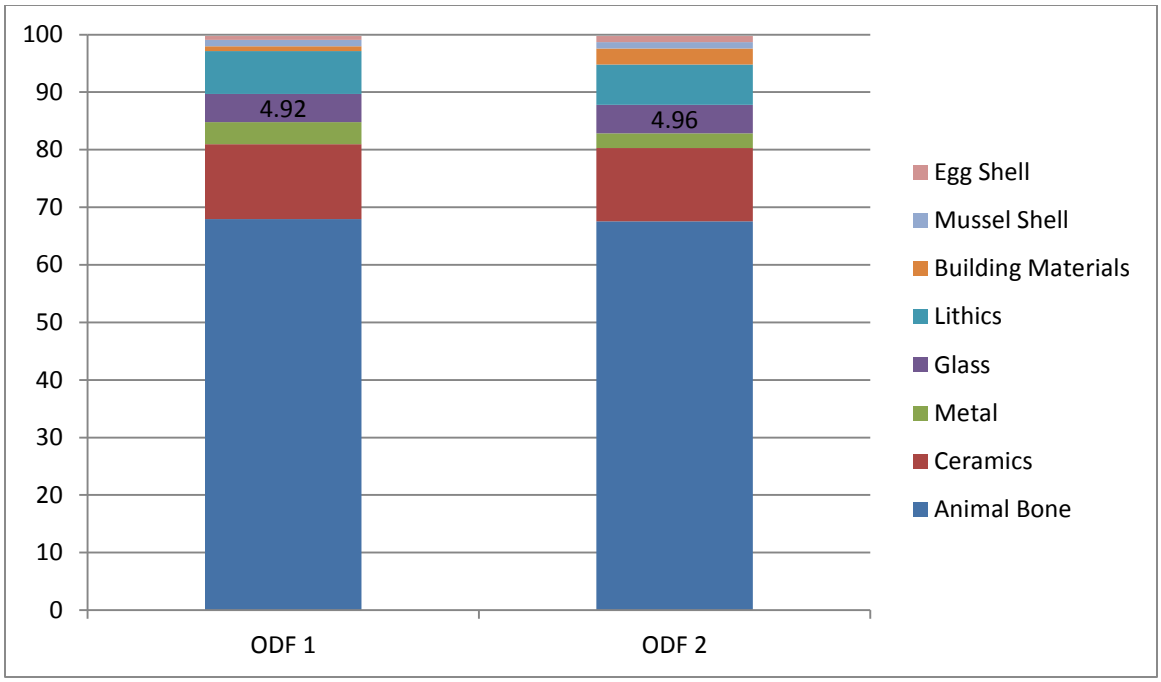

Figure 7-62: Artifact Proportions Found in ODF 1 and ODF 2.

Similarly, as Table 7-18 and Figure 7-63 indicate, there is little difference among the overall proportions of ceramic types according to origin between each feature and the overall assemblage. In all cases, Goliad Ware makes up about five percent of each assemblage while the ODF 1 assemblage is comprised of a slightly higher proportion of Spanish Colonial ceramics than the observed proportions in the total and ODF 2 assemblages, which have slightly higher proportions of English ceramics. The ODF 1 proportions are heavily weighted by the inclusion of Unit 8 (n=465) which accounts for 52 percent of the ODF 1 ceramic assemblage provided below. If the Unit 8 assemblage is not included, then the ODF 1 proportions are nearly identical to the ODF 2 proportions with 3.5 percent Goliad Ware (n=15), 33.5 percent Spanish Colonial ceramics (n=144), and 63 percent English ceramics (n=429) indicating that the midden deposits examined in Unit 8 may be slightly different than those directly adjacent to the trench feature, or more likely, the Unit 8 assemblage is a much more robust sample and the observed proportional differences are a result of different sampling methods (i.e. different unit sizes). Regardless, even when Unit 8 is included in the data a chi-square test for significance reveals that the differences

between the proportions of ceramic types in both features are not very significant (p=0.21, degrees of freedom = 2).

Table 7-18: Counts and proportions of ceramic types according to origin recovered from ODF 1 and ODF 2.

Assemblage	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial Ceramics	English Ceramics	Total
Total Assemblage	90	670	1208	1968
	4.6%	34%	61.4%	100%
ODF 1	42	331	521	894
	4.7%	37%	58.3%	100%
ODF 2	40	267	503	810
	4.9%	32.9%	62.2%	100%

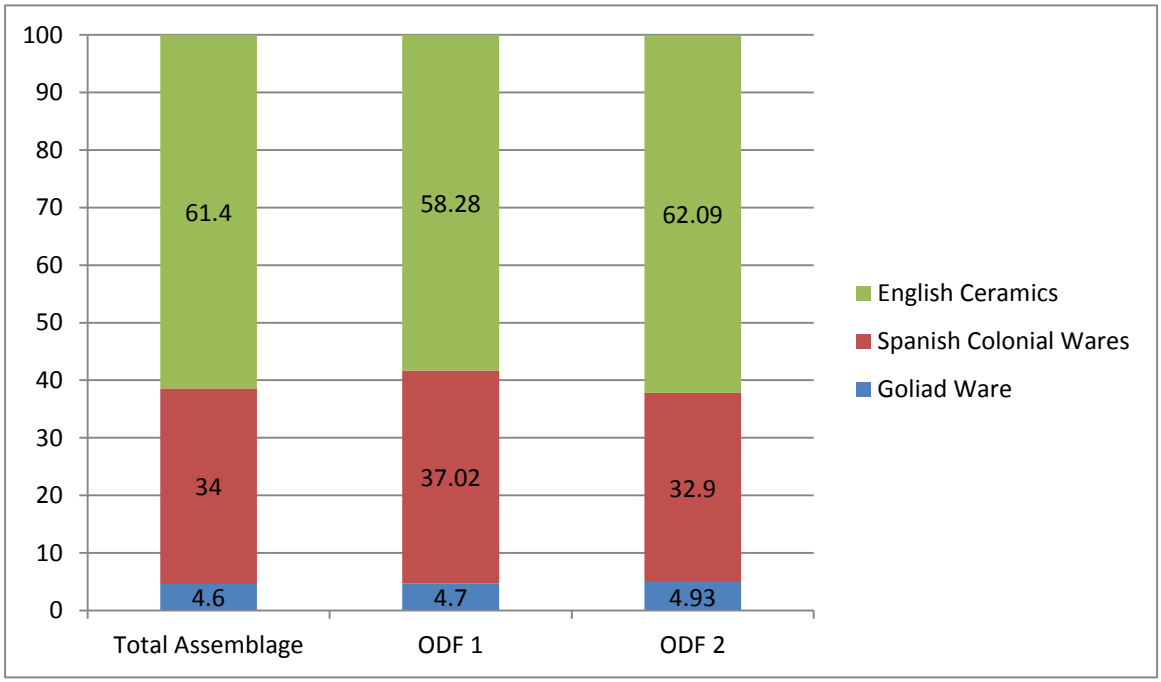

Figure 7-63: Proportions of ceramic types according to origin recovered from ODF 1 and ODF 2.

Accordingly, the MCDs from the overall collection, ODF 1 and ODF 2 are all nearly identical lending further support to the hypothesis that ODF 2 represents materials that were excavated from ODF1 and

were then subsequently backfilled. As Table 7-19 depicts, the MCD of the total assemblage is 1802.6 while the same data for ODF 1 (Units 4, 5, 7, and 8) and ODF (2 Units 2, 3, 5, and 6 not including upper fill zone, 7, and 9 not including upper fill zone) are 1800.2 and 1802.6 respectively. As suggested above, the slightly lower MCD for the ODF 1 assemblage is likely due to the higher proportion of Spanish Colonial ceramics in Unit 8, although the difference is not significant. If time lag is taken into account, the MCD provides an adjusted date range between about 1815 and 1830 as the period of peak usage of ODF 1 as a refuse midden.

Table 7-19: 41BX1752 MCDs According to Feature.

Type	Date Range	Median	Total Assemblage	ODF 1	ODF 2
Annularware (Indeterminate Refined Earthenware), Indeterminate Type	1780–1840	1810	2	1	N/A
Annularware (Pearlware), Banded	1785–1840	1812.5	136	50	69
Annularware (Pearlware), Cabled	1782–1820	1801	24	11	10
Annularware (Pearlware), Indeterminate	1780–1840	1810	3	1	1
Annularware (Pearlware), Marbleized	1782–1820	1801	22	20	1
Annularware (Pearlware), Mocha	1795–1895	1845	4	5	1
Annularware (Whiteware), Cabled	1830–1895	1862.5	7	N/A	4
Annularware (Whiteware), Mocha	1830–1895	1862.5	6	2	4
Creamware, Undecorated	1762–1820	1791	14	6	7
Edgeware, Embossed Patterns	1823–1835	1829	35	15	12
Edgeware, Impressed Feather Edge	1785–1840	1812.5	36	14	16
Edgeware, Scalloped Rim, Impressed "Bud" Design	1813–1834	1823.5	14	4	6
Edgeware, Scalloped Rim, Impressed Curved Lines	1802–1832	1817	7	5	3
Edgeware, Scalloped Rim, Impressed Straight Lines	1809–1831	1820	3	3	N/A
Goliad Ware	1720–1820	1770	90	42	40
Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware	1720-1850	1785	34	16	13
Lead-Glazed Ware, Black Luster	1720–1820	1770	3	2	1
Lead-Glazed Ware, Brown on Yellow	1750–1825	1787.5	1	N/A	N/A
Lead-Glazed Ware, Dark Brown	1750–1830	1790	5	4	1
Lead-Glazed Ware, Galera	1725–1850	1787.5	99	45	41
Lead-Glazed Ware, Indeterminate	1720–1850	1785	3		2
Lead-Glazed Ware, Red Brown	1700–1800	1750	25	9	13
Lead-Glazed Ware, Smooth Brown	1775–1830	1802.5	17	13	3
Lead-Glazed Ware, Yellow and Green Glaze I	1700–1800	1750	46	16	23

Table 7-19: 41BX1752 MCDs According to Feature Continued.

Type	Date Range	Median	Total Assemblage	ODF 1	ODF 2
Lead-Glazed Ware, Yellow and Green Glaze II	1700–1800	1750	73	45	20
Lustreware, English	1790–1840	1815	6	2	4
Majolica, Aranama Polychrome	1750–1850	1800	6	2	4
Majolica, Guanajuato Polychrome	1800–1850	1825	19	10	6
Majolica, Huejotzingo Wavy Rim Band	1775–1825	1800	1	1	N/A
Majolica, Indeterminate Decorated	1720–1850	1785	71	32	38
Majolica, Monterey Polychrome	1775–1830	1802.5	7	5	2
Majolica, Puebla Blue on White	1650–1830	1740	28	12	11
Majolica, San Elizario Polychrome	1750–1850	1800	14	12	2
Majolica, Tumacacori Polychrome	1810–1860	1835	3	N/A	1
Majolica, Undecorated	1720–1850	1785	154	79	61
Olive Jar, Late Style	1800–1900	1850	10	5	4
Pearlware, Hand painted Blue and White	1775–1840	1807.5	68	20	30
Pearlware, Hand painted Polychrome, Early	1795–1820	1807.5	2	1	1
Pearlware, Hand painted Polychrome, Indeterminate	1775–1840	1807.5	7	2	4
Pearlware, Hand painted Polychrome, Late	1830–1840	1835	65	29	26
Pearlware, Indeterminate Decoration	1780–1840	1810	5	2	2
Pearlware, Molded	1780–1840	1810	7	2	4
Pearlware, Sponged or Spattered	1770–1830	1800	3	1	N/A
Pearlware, Transfer Printed, Blue	1784–1840	1812	99	67	61
Pearlware, Transfer Printed, Dark Blue	1818–1830	1824	65	12	13
Pearlware, Transfer Printed, Purple	1829–1860	1845	1	N/A	N/A
Pearlware, Undecorated	1780–1840	1810	411	205	153
Porcelain	1720–1850	1785	14	2	5
Red Burnished Ware	1725–1800	1762.5	7	4	2
Refined Earthenware, Indeterminate	1800–1900	1850	2	1	2
Stoneware, Albany Slip	1820–1900	1860	2	1	N/A
Stoneware, Salt Glazed	1800–1900	1850	4	2	N/A
Tonalá Burnished Ware	1720–1810	1765	27	14	12
Valero Red Painted	1720–1820	1770	17	5	10
Whiteware, Embossed	1830–1900	1865	2	N/A	2
Whiteware, Hand painted	1830–1900	1865	6	N/A	5
Whiteware, Overglazed	1870–1900	1885	1	N/A	N/A
Whiteware, Sponged or Spattered	1830–1860	1845	1	1	N/A
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Black	1830–1850	1840	6	2	3
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Blue	1826–1831	1829	11	2	8
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Blue and Black	1830–1850	1840	4	N/A	4
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Brown	1829–1850	1840	1	N/A	1

Table 7-19: 41BX1752 MCDs According to Feature Continued.

Type	Date Range	Median	Total Assemblage	ODF 1	ODF 2
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Dark Blue	1820–1860	1845	5	N/A	1
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Green	1829–1850	1840	1	1	N/A
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Purple	1829–1860	1845	7	N/A	3
Whiteware, Transfer Printed, Red	1829–1850	1840	1	N/A	1
Whiteware, Undecorated	1830–1900	1865	84	29	31
Whiteware, Undecorated with Maker's Mark	1878–1890	1884	4	N/A	1
Total			**1968**	**894**	**810**
Mean Ceramic Date			**1802.6**	**1800.2**	**1802.5**

As alluded to in previous chapters, Stanley South's MCD methodology works best with temporally diagnostic English ceramics and not so well with assemblages with high proportions of Spanish Colonial ceramics with wide production date ranges. Unlike the previous sites discussed, the 41BX1752 assemblage has a much higher proportion of temporally diagnostic decorated English wares (n=650), which is useful in refining the site's chronology. The MCD for the temporally diagnostic decorated English wares for the entire assemblage is 1818.3 while the same dates for ODF 1 (n=270) and ODF 2 (n=287) are 1816.3 and 1818.3. In general, the production of English ceramics in the 1790s was dominated by plain refined earthenware with shell-edged tableware and painted teas, and it was not until after the War of 1812 that these styles were replaced by decorated wares including shell-edge, dipt, painted, and transfer printed wares (Miller 1991:5). During excavation, we recovered three sherds of scalloped rim "shell" edgeware with an impressed "bud" design (1813–1834; see Figure 7-45) from the bottom levels of the intact ODF 1 midden deposit explored in Units 7 (n = 2) and 8 (n = 1), which support the overall temporally diagnostic MCDs above and indicate that the deposit likely originated sometime after 1813.

The 41BX1752 ceramic assemblage also contains nearly equal proportions of undecorated English white earthenwares and edgewares produced in the late eighteenth and very early nineteenth centuries (n = 568, 29.1 percent) and "dipt", painted, printed, and edgewares produced after 1812 (n = 604, 31 percent). Similarly, the collection contains nearly equal proportions of edgewares produced before and

after about 1812 (n = 46; n = 45), with embossed pattern edgewares (1823 to 1835) making up over 36 percent of all edgewares collected. Less reliable, but also significant, the proportions of creamwares (n = 14, less than 1 percent), pearlwares (n = 733, 52.6 percent), and whitewares (n = 135, 6.4 percent) in the assemblage suggest that the collection dates to the peak production period of pearlware, between 1780 and 1840, but closer to the transition from pearlware to whiteware in the 1830s than the transition from creamware to pearlware in the 1780s.

Similarly, approximately 28.1 percent (n = 553) of the total assemblage are ceramic types with production periods that extend beyond 1840. However, 67.1 percent of these types (n = 371) are Spanish Colonial ceramics such as undecorated majolicas (n = 154) and Galera wares (n = 99) with very long production periods that span the occupation in San Antonio to about 1850. Similarly, the majority of English refined earthenwares with production periods that extend beyond 1840 are types that have very long production periods like undecorated whiteware (n = 84) and various annular or "dipt" wares (n = 17), and are not temporally sensitive. However, 62 percent of the decorated whitewares (n = 28) with production periods that extend beyond 1840 are transfer printed designs in colors with maximum periods of popularity between 1820 and 1839 (Miller 1980). These data indicate that very few of the samples in the collection were likely produced or purchased after 1840, suggesting the probability that the area also ceased to be used as a refuse deposit sometime around the 1840s.

Although the assemblages from each feature are very similar, as discussed throughout this chapter, the two features do differ significantly in terms of artifact densities, with ODF 1 containing a much higher density of materials than ODF 2, and with variation between the two soil zones in ODF 2. Figure 7-64 displays the average densities (per m^3) of artifacts and animal bones according to feature and soil zones found in the data recovery units, and reveals that ODF 1 is much more dense than ODF 2. Similarly, the dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) portion of ODF 2 is significantly denser than the light gray

(10YR 7/2) portion. This is likely because the darker trench fill primarily represents soils excavated from the midden deposit, while the light gray zone generally represents marl sub-soils. The low density of materials observed in the light gray soils indicates that the ODF 2 soils are mixed to a limited degree, but more important, this evidence, and the evidence above, indicate that the ODF 2 trench fill is the same midden and marl soils originally excavated from ODF 1 when the fortification was first built. Because no later materials were found within the fill, the evidence suggests that the ODF 2 trench probably dates to about the same period as the ODF 1 midden feature, which is supported by the MCDs presented above.

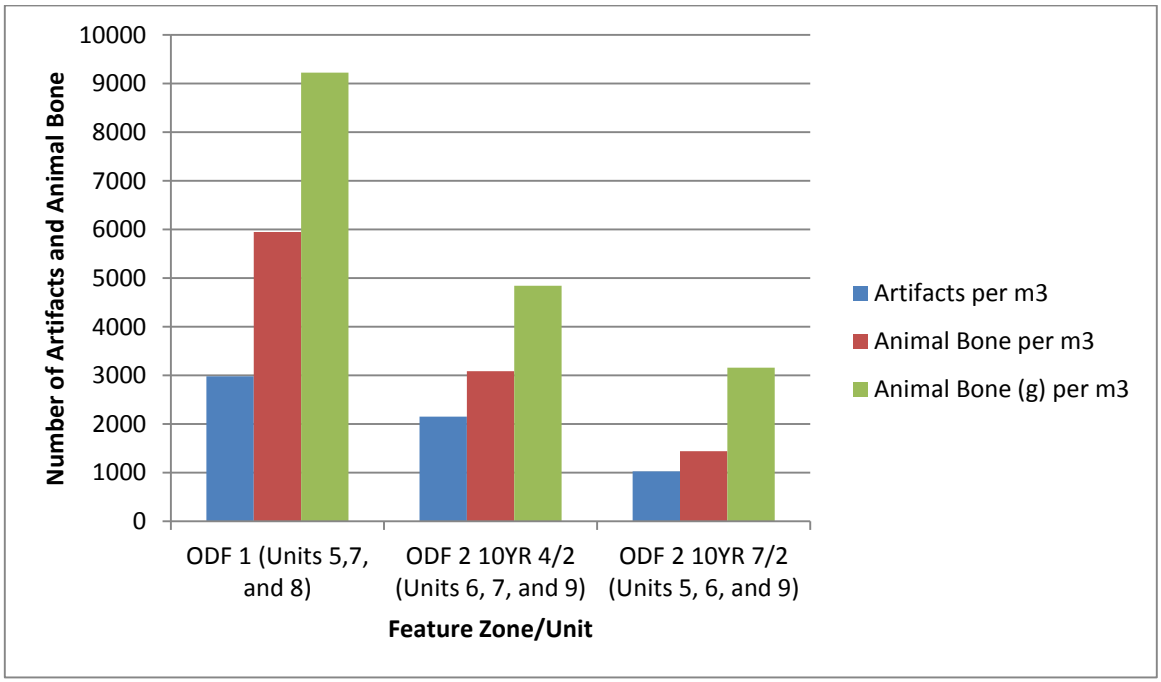

Figure 7-64: Average densities of artifacts by soil type in Units 5–9.

In sum, ODF 1 represents a domestic midden deposit that, according to the time lag adjusted MCD from the temporally diagnostic decorated English ceramics (1818.3 + 30 years) was used for domestic refuse disposal during a period beginning about 1815 and ending as late as 1848. According to the archival evidence, the property adjacent to 41BX1752 on the north side of Dolorosa Street remained in the Padrón-Cháves family from at least 1783 until 1849, and at the turn of the century the property was likely occupied

by Francisco X. Cháves, his wife Juana, and their children, as well as his mother-in-law and original owner, Antonia de Armas. The archival record also reveals that Francisco X. Cháves' second wife, Micaela Fragoso, received the property and house on the southwest corner of Padrón/Cháves tract when Francisco died in 1832, while his children received shares of the north and middle strips. This implies that Francisco lived with his second wife in the house on the south strip prior to 1832, and he possibly lived there as early as 1786, or after he married Juana, as the 1803 census data suggest. As such, it is likely that the ODF 1 midden deposit at 41BX1752 can be associated with Francisco X. Cháves and his family in the early nineteenth century and more specifically, Francisco X. Cháves and eventually his second wife Micaela Fragoso after about 1815.

It is less certain that anyone lived on the opposite side of Dolorosa Street during the period in which the area was used as a midden. Evidence indicates that José Manuel Delgado owned the tract on the southeast corner of plaza in 1813 when the property was confiscated, but he does not appear as a resident of *Béxar* in the 1790 Census. It is certainly possible that José Manuel Delgado occupied the tract in the 23 years between the census and the revolution, and therefore, it is also possible that he contributed to the ODF 1 midden deposit. Similarly, Francisco Rodriguez owned and occupied the tract directly south of the Delgado property as early as 1790, and if the Delgado property was vacant between 1790 and 1813, then it is possible that Francisco Rodriguez and his family may have also contributed to the midden deposit. However, given that the site is directly adjacent to the Padrón/Cháves tract, and because the adjusted MCD dates the deposit to a period between 1815 and 1848, or after the Delgado and Rodriguez properties were confiscated, it is most likely that the midden was directly associated with the Cháves family's occupation of the tract.

ODF 2 however, provides an opportunity to further refine the period in which the midden was in use, as the evidence indicates that the trench feature is associated with the construction of a Mexican

military entrenchment in 1835, of which the backfilling event essentially acts as a *terminus ante quem* date for the midden and the trench. Overall, the archival evidence summarized above indicates that the southeast corner of the Main Plaza changed very little from the eighteenth century through the present, and the area where we encountered 41BX1752 has served as a part of Old Dolorosa Street for the duration of this period. While most of the archival record indicates long-term stability in the area around 41BX1752, strong archival evidence including eight primary accounts and two reliable secondary accounts from the Siege of *Béxar*, all agree to some extent that earthwork fortifications, most likely embrasure batteries composed of earth and wooden posts, were located at the corners of the Main Plaza, including the southeast corner in the vicinity of ODF 2 (Table 7-20). The archival record also indicates that the Morelos Battalion likely constructed these fortifications. The battalion was composed of permanent soldiers and officers trained and experienced in nineteenth-century field fortification principles.

While the archival record clearly indicates that a fortification was present in the vicinity, directly attributing ODF 2 to the Siege of *Béxar* through the material record is a little more complicated. The most obvious issue is that there is no artifactual evidence undeniably linking the trench to the Mexican military, and there were very few artifacts indicating that a battle was fought in the vicinity. Previous investigations of Mexican military entrenchments at the Alamo and La Villita recovered ample evidence directly tying those features to the siege and the Battle of the Alamo. In the case of 41BX1752, the only military-related artifacts in the collection are the 11 artifacts functionally categorized as Armaments, three of which (the .69 caliber musket ball and two pieces of buckshot) were recovered from deeper levels in the midden feature and two others (the possible gun barrel and a locally made gunflint) that have no provenience at all. Of the six Armament artifacts found within the trench fill, the British-made gunflint, the musket pad, and the Mexican Infantry Briquette sword tip are items that were unquestionably used by the Mexican Infantry during this period. However, they were also just common items in the region during the early nineteenth century, and cannot conclusively be attributed to the Mexican Army.

Table 7-20: Primary and Secondary Accounts Describing Fortifications around the Main Plaza during the Siege of *Béxar.*

Account	Primary/Secondary	Fortification Description	Locations
Juan José Sanchez-Navarro	Primary	Parapets and artillery	Plaza street intersections
Colonel Francis W. Johnson	Primary	Breastwork and a gun	Northeast and southeast angle of the Main Plaza, the entrance of the street from the Alamo, and southwest angle of the Military Plaza
Colonel William T. Austin	Primary	Barricades with ditches in front and portholes for cannons	Streets leading to the Square
Dr. Joseph E. Field	Primary	A breastwork of perpendicular posts, with a ditch in front and port holes for muskets, and one in the center for a cannon	At the entrance of every street to the plaza with the exception of that leading to the Alamo
Henry B. Dance	Primary	Breastwork with a ditch and a cannon	Each street of the Public Square
Sion R. Bostick	Primary	Barricades with portholes and cannons	North Side of Plaza
Joseph Lopez	Primary	Fortifications with cannons	Each street of the Square where the church was located
Charles B. Shain	Primary	Pickets with portholes for cannons	The Square
General Vicente Filisola	Secondary	Portholes and Parapets	Plaza Street Intersections
Chester Newell	Secondary	Breastwork built of posts and soil excavated from a trench in front of the earthwork; breastwork had a cannon and a porthole	Each opening of the square

One possible explanation why there are so few military-related artifacts associated with the trench may be because the Texian Army attacked the plazas from the north during the Siege of *Béxar*, and while the southeast corner was likely guarded during the siege, there should not be any evidence of combat at that location. Furthermore, the terms of surrender gave the Mexican Military six days to

prepare for their trip to Mexico, making it possible that any significant evidence of a military presence at the southeast corner was removed prior to leaving San Antonio. Finally, it appears that the uppermost portions of the midden and the trench were disturbed or removed after the trench was backfilled, making it possible that evidence of a military presence may have also been removed.

The idea that the upper portions of the features were disturbed may provide insight into the trench's alignment and overall dimensions. Excavation revealed that the ODF 2 trench measured approximately 7.4 feet (2.25 m) wide and 2.5 to 3.25 feet (0.75–1 m) deep. However, as suggested, the upper portions may not be present, and it is likely that ODF 2 only represents the lower portions of the fortification trench, in which case ODF 2 may have originally been wider and deeper. The archival documented accounts of the ditches at the plaza indicate that the trenches were very large; Field described it as 10 feet wide and five feet deep, Dance said nine feet deep and 15 feet wide, Newell suggested that the trench was eight feet deep, and Mahan recommended that parapet trenches should be at least six feet deep and 12 feet wide (Field 1836:20; Jenkins 1973: Volume VI, Item 2864; Mahan 1836:32; Newell 1838:105). It is unlikely that the trench was ever six feet deep, as the bottom of the trench was less than six feet below current grade, and even if it was six feet deep, at the observed slope (1/0.25 m), a trench that deep would only measure nine feet wide (2.75 m). Current grade at the time of investigation was approximately 5.75 feet (1.75 m) above the bottom of the trench, and if that is used as the hypothetical ground surface level when the trench was originally excavated, then the trench would only measure approximately 8.5 feet (2.6 m) wide, indicating that the trench was likely smaller and steeper than described by the accounts and stipulated by normal conventions.

Similarly, disturbances to the north and south of ODF 2 left an intact portion of the feature that measured only 3 m long. Although the general alignment of ODF 2 was from the northeast to the southwest, it is difficult to determine any specific layout or orientation of the trench. In this case, the

archival record may provide the best possible hypothetical interpretation of the fortifications' design and layout. The property histories indicate that in 1835, a structure, possibly occupied by Francisco X. Cháves' widow Micaela Fragosa, was located on the north side of Dolorosa Street, and according to documents from 1825 and 1837, Juan Cortés and José Antonio Navarro owned a stone house fronting onto the south side of the plaza on the west side of Curbelo Street (present-day Dwyer Avenue and catty-corner to the Cháves house; see NCB 146 write up; Ivey n.d.). However, as discussed in the NCB 118 property history above, it is unlikely that a structure was located on the José Manuel Delgado property on the south side of Dolorosa Street in 1835. This configuration indicates the possibility that the fortification stretched from the Cháves house to the Cortés-Navarro house, and may have had an open view towards the southeast. If so, it is unclear how the artillery was positioned at the southeast corner, as the record suggests only one cannon was responsible for defending Dolorosa Street, Curbelo Street, and the river to the southeast. Therefore, it is possible that the battery at the southeast corner was configured as a redan or lunette, similar to the barbette battery on Figure 7-65 (Mahan 1836:Plate V).

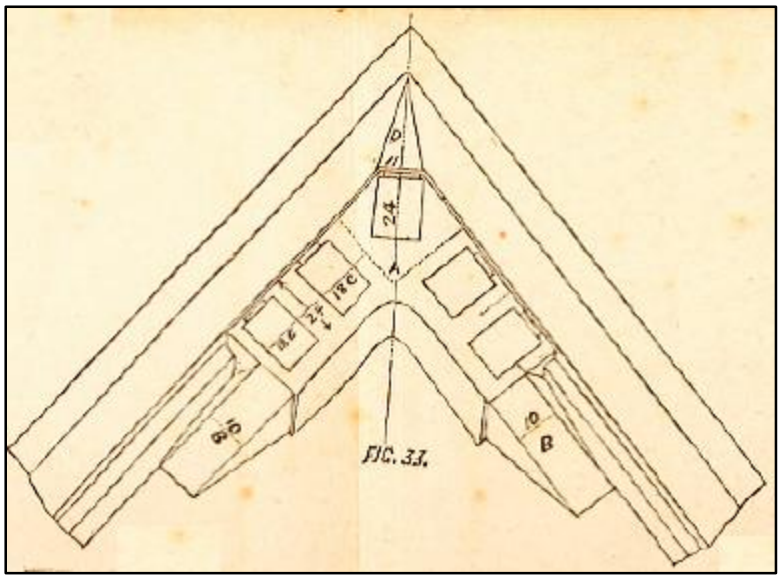

Figure 7-65: Plan view of a barbette battery for three guns (Mahan 1836: Plate V).

The Alamo Plaza (41BX6) and La Villita (41BX677) Entrenchments

As indicated, previous archaeological investigations by UTSA-CAR also located evidence of Mexican military entrenchments in the form of backfilled trenches at the Alamo Plaza (41BX6, Fox 1992) and La Villita (41BX677; Labadie 1986) that date to the 1835 Siege of *Béxar* and the 1836 Battle of the Alamo respectively (Figure 7-66). The Alamo Plaza investigations entailed two field school seasons in 1988 and 1989 and recorded a variety of defensive works, including entrenchment and parapet earthworks or lunette trenches along the south gate and south wall, a stockade feature comprising two small trenches and post molds at the southeast corner of the property, two large trenches in the north courtyard, and evidence of a massive battery in the structure of the church (Fox 1992; Ivey and Fox 1997). The La Villita earthworks were discovered during archaeological monitoring for the Fairmount Hotel relocation project and the salvage excavations exposed an L-shaped trench 1.9 m deep with a long stretch that measured 9.25 m long and between 1.5 and 1.9 m wide, and a shorter stretch measuring about 5.7 m long and almost 3 m wide (Labadie 1986:33; 57).

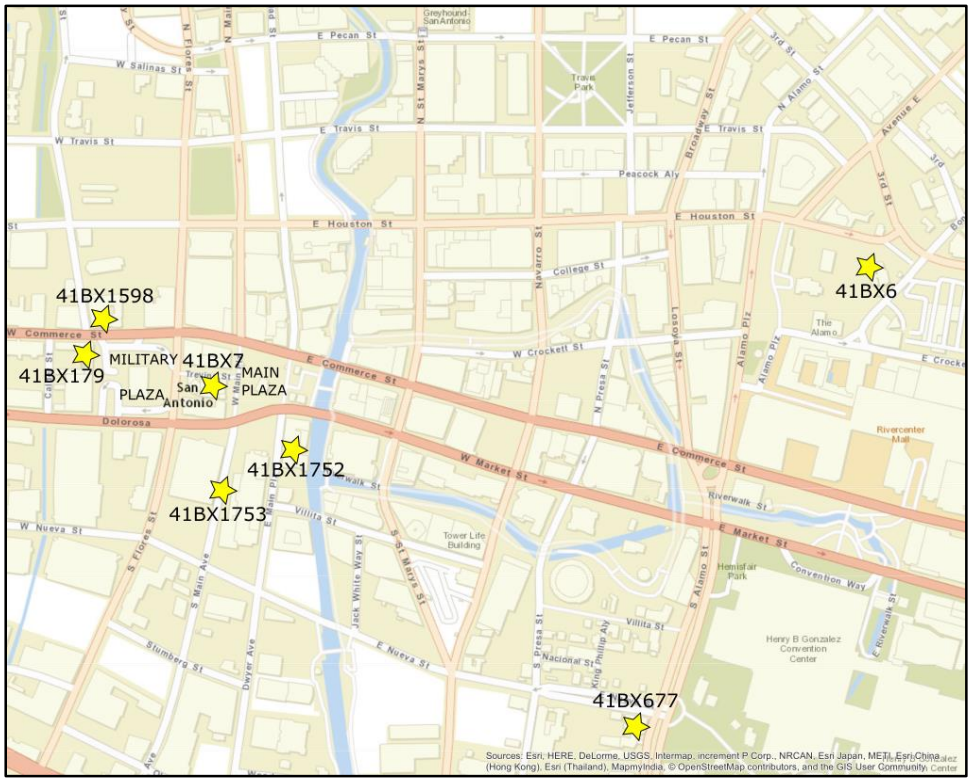

Figure 7-66: Locations of 41BX6 and 41BX677 in relation to other case study sites.

Of the previously recorded trenches, the lunette trenches at the Alamo and the La Villita are the most similar to ODF 2, as they were also excavated through marl subsoil, were flat-bottomed and sloped outward slightly from the bottom to the top, and were backfilled with soils laden with early nineteenth century artifacts and animal bones (Figure 7-67 and Figure 7-68; Fox 1992:22; Labadie 1986:33). In both cases it appears that the tops of the features were disturbed by subsequent construction activities, leaving the investigators to speculate about the original dimensions of the trenches. However, the remaining evidence of the Alamo lunette trenches and the La Villita trenches displayed very similar dimensions to those observed with ODF 2, and in fact, the Alamo lunette trenches are nearly identical to the ODF 2 trench as the remaining portions measured about 2 m wide and 1 m deep. Furthermore, during the excavation of the Alamo lunette trenches, archaeologists recovered a military shako attributed to the Morelos Battalion, and used this as evidence to support an 1835 construction date for the Alamo's main

gate (Fox 1992:22). Given the archival evidence and the similarities between ODF 2 and the Alamo lunette trenches, it seems likely that ODF 2 was also constructed by the Morelos Battalion during the Siege of *Béxar*, and may have been configured also as a lunette to fortify both Dolorosa Street and present-day Dwyer Avenue as suggested above.

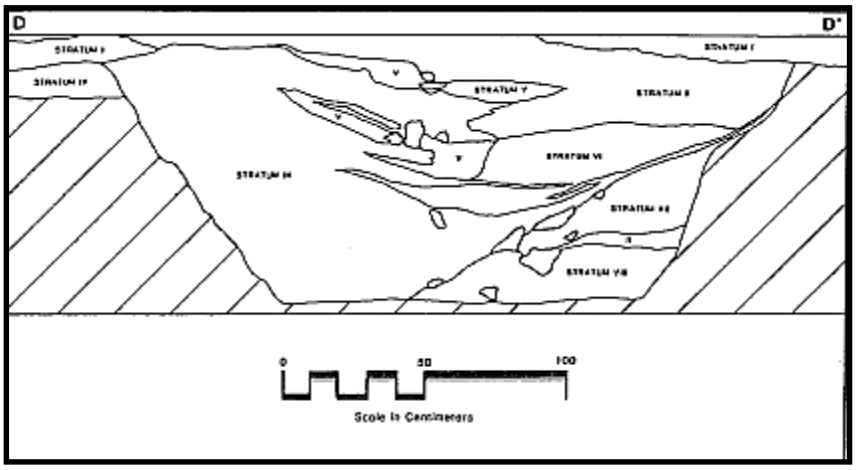

Figure 7-67: Alamo Plaza Lunette Trench (East-West) Profile: I: 10Yr 2/1 clay; II: 10YR3/3 gravely soil; III 10YR 6/3 caliche fill; IV: 10YR 5/2 gravely soil; V: 10YR 3/2 clay; VI: 10 YR 7/3 gravely soil; VII 10YR 6/2 fill; 10YR 7/2 soil (Fox 1992: 24).

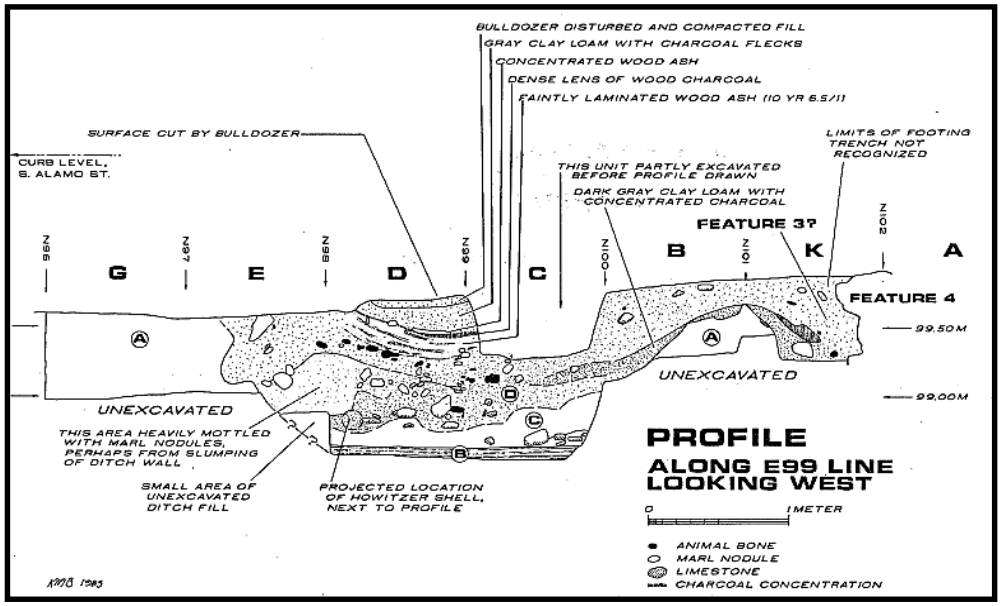

Figure 7-68: La Villita Earthworks West Profile: A: Marl bedrock; B: Laminated marl; C: Mottled marl; D. "Villita fill (Labadie 1986: 32).

Like 41BX1752, the areas adjacent to the entrenchments at the Alamo Plaza and La Villita were residential areas prior to 1835, although attributing the deposits found within the trenches at the two latter sites is nearly impossible. Before it was the Alamo, indigenous people of various backgrounds occupied Mission Valero for nearly seventy-five years. A number of families continued to live in the Indian quarters at Mission Valero after the mission was secularized in 1793, but the immediate area became heavily populated in the early nineteenth century by Spanish and Mexican soldiers and their families, most notably by the flying company of San Carlos de Parras de Alamo in 1802, the namesake of the Alamo. Additional troops were stationed around the mission in the early 1820s and in 1825 soldiers were granted permission to occupy the old *convento* buildings. By "1829 more than 300 people were living in the Alamo community east of the river," many of which (sic) were living in the vicinity of the present-day Alamo Plaza (Fox 1992: 2-3).

Similarly, the area eventually known as La Villita was initially settled in 1773 when the Adaeseños were relocated from East Texas to San Antonio and settled in the area on the east side of the San Antonio River opposite of the Main Plaza and directly south of Mission Valero (Magruder 2016). Some of the same military families that populated the Alamo Plaza area in the early nineteenth century also took up residence in the vicinity and the area began to be referred to as La Villita (ibid.). La Villita became somewhat of a prominent neighborhood by the Mexican Era as soldiers and their families lived among some of the city's more elite citizens. Coincidentally, Clement Delgado and his family owned the tract where CAR's archaeologists located the La Villita entrenchment from at least 1811 until 1839 when his heirs sold the property to John W. Smith (BCDR A2: 221; Labadie 1986: 23). As discussed in Chapter 6, Clemente Delgado primarily lived on the south side of the Main Plaza during this time except for the period after the 1813 revolt when he was exiled in Mexico, and as such, Clemente Delgado did not occupy the tract that he owned in La Villita. It is possible that one of his heirs occupied the tract during this period, but it is also possible that a tenant unrelated to the Delgado family occupied the parcel. In the cases of

41BX6 and 41BX677, the entrenchment features are located in what would have been relatively highly populated areas and because the investigations primarily examined the trench fill and not the surrounding deposits, the origins of the composition of the surrounding midden deposits are unclear. However, because these deposits had similar contexts as those at 41BX1752, it is worth examining the data further.

Like the collections recovered from 41BX1752, the materials recovered from the trench fill at 41BX6 and 41BX677 are primarily faunal materials and domestic refuse. Although each of the investigations recovered a high volume of faunal materials, Fox did not analyze any of the 14,338 specimens recovered from 41BX6. Similar to the 41BX1752 faunal analysis, the La Villita analysts only analyzed a portion of the mammal remains from 41BX677 but identified 267 specimens, 86 percent of which were cattle (n=230). Furthermore, Labadie identified a high proportion of faunal specimens that displayed evidence of butchering or that were non-meat bearing bones such as phalanges (n=28), carpals/tarsals (n-8), and calcanei (n=4) and are indicative of butchering activities.

More important, the investigations at the Alamo Plaza and La Villita entrenchments recovered ceramics assemblages with counts comparable to what was recovered at 41BX1752. Table 7-21 presents the counts and proportions of the ceramic types according to origin from 41BX6 and 41BX677 and Figure 7-69 compares the proportional composition of each assemblage with the 41BX1752 assemblage and reveals that along these lines, the three sites are substantially different from one another. The 41BX677 is unlike any of the other assemblages presented in this dissertation and is comprised of nearly 93 percent English ceramics (n=1505) while the 41BX6 assemblage is more similar to the Delgado Cistern assemblage and over 12 percent of the assemblage is comprised of Goliad Ware while the proportions of Spanish Colonial and English ceramics are nearly even.

Table 7-21: Counts and proportions of ceramic types from 41BX6 and 41BX677					
Site	Goliad Ware	Spanish Colonial Ceramics	English Ceramics	French Ceramics	Total
41BX6	343	1195	1257	5	2800
	12.25%	42.6%	44.9%	0.1%	100%
41BX677	10	109	1505	1	1625
	0.6%	6.7%	92.6%	0.06%	100%

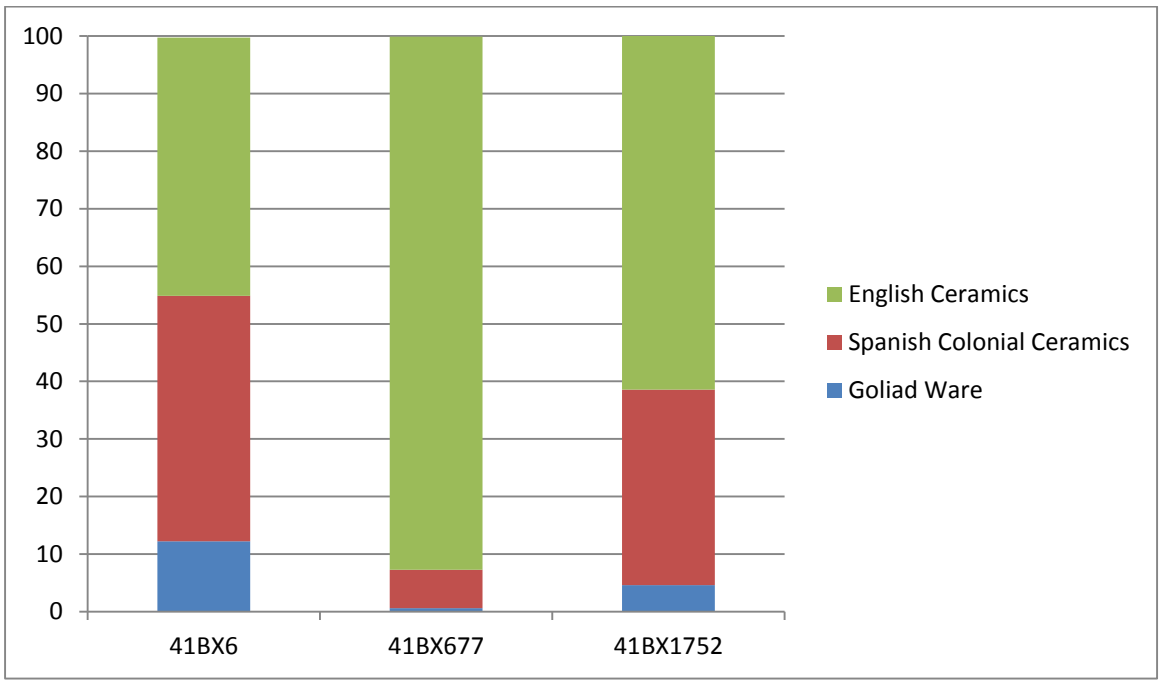

Figure 7-69: Proportional composition of the 41BX6, 41BX677, and 41BX1752 ceramic assemblages according to origin.

The 41BX6 assemblage is however not surprising as the Alamo Plaza represents one of the longest occupied areas in San Antonio. The contexts and the composition of the original midden deposit that make up the 41BX6 trench fill are uncertain. However, the relatively high proportions of Goliad Ware (n=343) and seventeenth and eighteenth century tin-glazed ceramic types like Puebla Blue on White (n=52), Puebla Polychrome (n=12) and various French Faience types (n=5) within the same assemblage as early nineteenth century English ceramics indicate that the midden feature in which the trench fill originated was likely a stratified deposit and the fill assemblage is representative of various mixed contexts. The likelihood that the 41BX6 trench fill originated as a stratified midden deposit is supported

by the variation between the MCDs from the temporally diagnostic decorated majolica and English ceramic types which are 1784.2 and 1829.4 respectively. CAR's analysis of the Alamo Plaza entrenchment ceramic assemblage did not separate many of the ceramic types into more temporally diagnostic subtypes, and as such, the temporally diagnostic decorated MCDs and the total assemblage MCD of 1794.5 presented in Table 7-22 are estimates.

However, the total assemblage estimated MCD only predates the 41BX1752 MCD by eight years and the two assemblages do share key characteristics such as high proportions of similar ceramic types like the nineteenth century Guanajuato Polychrome which comprise 36.1 percent of the decorated majolica types in the 41BX6 collection (n=73) and 12.75 percent in the 41BX1752 collection (n=19). More significantly, the white earthenware assemblages from 41BX6 and 41BX1752 are primarily comprised of inexpensive white earthenwares like undecorated types (n=544) and various annularware (n=125) and edgeware types (n=67), which make up 61.9 and 67.5 percent of the respective collections. Concomitantly, more expensive, decorated English ceramics make up 32.2 and 31.1 percent of refined white earthenwares of the 41BX6 (n=384) and 41BX1752 (n = 374) assemblages and primarily include transfer printed ceramics (n = 179; 201) and hand painted wares (n = 186; 148). Porcelain sherds represent the most expensive white refined earthenware in the both collections, and make up less than five percent (n=56) of the 41BX6 white refined earthenware assemblage and 1.2 percent of all white refined earthenwares in the 41BX1752 collection (n=14).

Table 7-22: 41BX6 and 41BX677 Ceramic Types and MCDs.

Type	Date Range	Median	41BX6	41BX677
Annularware (Indeterminate Refined Earthenware), Indeterminate Type	1780–1895	1837.5	125	164
Edgeware, Impressed Feather Edge	1785–1840	1812.5	67	94
Lustreware, English	1790–1840	1815	19	32

Table 7-22: 41BX6 and 41BX677 Ceramic Types and MCDs Continued.

Type	Date Range	Median	41BX6	41BX677
Refined Earthenware, Hand painted	1775–1900	1837.5	186	447
Refined Earthenware, Sponged or Spattered	1770–1860	1815	3	2
Refined Earthenware Transfer Printed	1784–1860	1822	179	419
Refined Earthenware, Undecorated	1780–1900	1840	544	335
Porcelain	1720–1850	1785	56	10
Miscellaneous	N/A	N/A	10	2
Stoneware, Albany Slip	1820–1900	1860	11	N/A
Stoneware, Bristol Slip	1890–1930	1910	15	N/A
Stoneware, Salt Glazed	1800–1900	1850	4	N/A
Stoneware, indeterminate	1800-1900	1850	38	N/A
Faience, Orange Decorated	1700-1750	1725	1	N/A
Faience, Rouen	1700-1750	1725	1	N/A
Faience, Rouge Pot	1700-1750	1725	3	1
Goliad Ware	1720–1820	1770	343	10
Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware, Decorated	1720-1850	1785	2	N/A
Lead-Glazed Ware, Black Luster	1720–1820	1770	7	N/A
Lead-Glazed Ware, Galera	1725–1850	1787.5	362	68
Lead-Glazed Ware, Indeterminate, Decorated	1720–1850	1785	15	N/A
Lead-Glazed Ware, Red Brown	1700–1800	1750	36	N/A
Lead-Glazed Ware, Sandy Paste	1700–1800	1750	220	5
Majolica, Guanajuato Polychrome	1800–1850	1825	73	8
Majolica, Huejotzingo Wavy Rim Band	1775–1825	1800	17	N/A
Majolica, Indeterminate Decorated	1720–1850	1785	35	N/A
Majolica, Puebla Blue on White	1650–1830	1740	52	N/A
Majolica, Puebla Polychrome	1650-1725	1687.5	12	N/A

Table 7-22: 41BX6 and 41BX677 Ceramic Types and MCDs Continued.

Type	Date Range	Median	41BX6	41BX677
Majolica, San Elizario Polychrome	1750–1850	1800	13	N/A
Majolica, Undecorated	1720–1850	1785	160	N/A
Olive Jar, Late Style	1800–1900	1850	9	N/A
Red Burnished Ware	1725–1800	1762.5	19	N/A
Tonalá Burnished Ware	1720–1810	1765	40	28
Valero Red Painted	1720–1820	1770	123	N/A
Total			**2800**	**1625**
Mean Ceramic Date			**1794.5**	**1825.36**

Like the 41BX6 trench fill, the context and composition of the midden deposit that makes up the 41BX677 trench fill is also unknown, but the La Villita assemblage likely represents the period in which the area was occupied. However, unlike the Alamo Plaza, occupation in La Villita prior to 1836 was relatively short and apparently limited to the nineteenth century. As a result, the assemblage is 92.6 percent English wares and 100 percent of the majolica assemblage is comprised of nineteenth century- Guanajuato Polychrome (n=8). Accordingly, the estimated MCD for the La Villita assemblage is 1825.36 while the MCDs for the temporally diagnostic decorated majolica and English ceramics types are 1825 and 1829.6 respectively.

While the most obvious differences between the 41BX677 and 41BX1752 assemblages are the near absences of Spanish Colonial ceramic types and Goliad Ware in the La Villita collection, the respective assemblages also differ significantly in terms of white refined earthenware types. As suggested above the 41BX1752 assemblage is primarily (67.5 percent) inexpensive undecorated, annularware, and edgeware types. Conversely, the 41BX677 white refined earthenware assemblage is 57.5 percent transfer printed (n=419) and hand painted (n=447) types and only 39.4 percent undecorated (n=335), annularware (n=164) and edgeware (n=94) types. These data indicate that although some of the differences recognized in the 41BX677 assemblage can be attributed to its limited temporal context, they may also speak to socio-economic variation and disparity in terms of supply or access to certain goods.

The comparative data from 41BX6 and 41BX677 with regard to the entrenchment features' morphologies support the archival and archaeological data from 41BX1752 and clarify that the ODF 2 trench feature is evidence of a Mexican Military entrenchment dating to the 1835 Siege of *Béxar*. These data help to refine the chronology at 41BX1752 and indicate that Francisco Cháves and his family used the midden for refuse disposal from sometime after about 1815 until 1835 when the Mexican Infantry constructed the earthwork fortifications.

On the other hand, because these two sites offer so many unknowns including a comprehensive understanding of the contexts and compositions of the original middens that make up each trench feature's fill, the two comparative collections actually complicate some of the possible conclusions offered by the 41BX1752 data regarding the material conditions of early nineteenth century domestic life just prior to the Texas War of Independence. Based on the data, my supposition that the 41BX6 feature fill is evidence of a stratified midden that became mixed in the course of constructing and backfilling the trench feature seems plausible. However, as a comparative unit, this mixed context offers little value if I am trying to highlight specific material conditions of a discrete temporal context. On the other hand, the 41BX677 assemblage offers a temporally distinct collection that is directly comparable to the 41BX1752 data. However, because I have been unable to determine who occupied the Delgado's property in La Villita during the period in which midden was formed, the observed differences among ceramic types and the possible avenues of analysis that these differences offer cannot be fully contextualized.

The section below takes these issues into consideration and compares the 41BX1752, 41BX6, and 41BX677 data with the sites discussed in previous chapters. As in the concluding sections of the previous chapters I will compare these data with the data from collections discussed in previous chapters to further refine these sites' temporal contexts. Through this diachronic analysis I will evaluate the enduring qualities and changes within the material record that help define the 41BX1752 as an assemblage that reflects

aspects of the material conditions of domestic life just prior to the Texas War of Independence and highlight changes. Furthermore, I will discuss how these material conditions may have been significant in shaping *Tejano* identity during the Mexican Era and into the Texas War of Independence when the boundaries between intersecting and often conflicting concepts of nationalism, ethnicity, religion, and other variables were becoming more and more blurred.

Conclusion

Unlike the two case study sites discussed in previous chapters, the 41BX1752 collection is robust and offers a much more clearly defined temporal context. Like the previous sites discussed, the site provides exceptional evidence of domestic life during a significant period in *Béxar's* history that can be directly tied to one of the community's most prestigious and enduring families. While they have their issues, the benefit of including 41BX6 and 41BX677 in the following discussion is that they lend support to the temporal context of 41BX1752 while at the same time providing evidence of variability that likely existed at a point in time defined by revolution. The following section continues the diachronic analysis that I began in the previous chapter and compares 41BX1752 with the other case study sites to establish discrete qualities of Mexican Era collections in *Béxar* and to highlight some of the materials and trends that may have had a role in shaping *Tejano* identity.

Figure 7-70 depicts the MCDs and the adjusted ranges (+15 and 30 years) from each deposit in the order they were discussed[39] and predictably reveals that there is overlap between the sites discussed in Chapter 6 and 41BX1752 and 41BX6. In fact, the 41BX6 MCD (1794.5) actually predates the MCD from 41BX179, Unit 3 (1796), which is not surprising since the 41BX6 had a much higher proportion of Spanish

[39] The 41BX179 data are an average of the "eighteenth century" or "Colonial" deposits defined by the original authors as presented in Chapter 5. I also did not include the 41BX7 collection because the contexts of the collection are unclear.

Colonial wares (42.6 percent compared to 27.5 percent) and likely includes portions of earlier deposits. Similarly, as discussed above, 41BX677 appears as an outlier primarily due to the assemblages' high proportion of English ceramics and the analysts' methodology which did not include various subtypes. Most importantly, Figure 7-70 depicts the notion that 41BX1752, 41BX6, 41BX677, as well as the 41BX1753, Unit 3 assemblages all date to a period around the Mexican Era and all predate the Texas War of Independence.

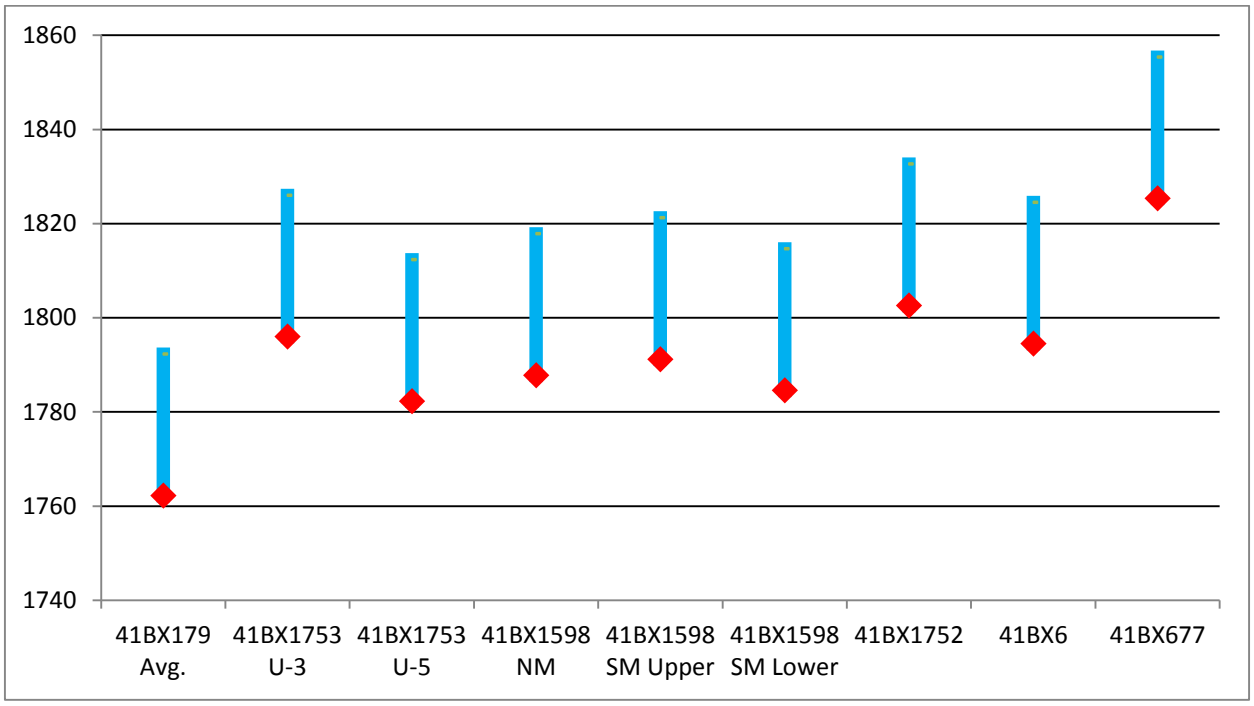

Figure 7-70: MCDs from Units at 41BX179 (average), 41BX1753, midden deposits at 41BX1598 and 41BX1752, and entrenchment features at 41BX6 and 41BX677.

Similarly, Figure 7-71 depicts the proportions of ceramic types according to origin for each assemblage and generally portrays the same trend of the concomitant increase in English ceramics and decrease in Spanish Colonial ceramics over time that was first recognized between Unit 5 and Unit 3 at 41BX1753 to the point that the 41BX677 assemblage is over 92 percent English ceramics. The 41BX1752 and 41BX677 data however also depict a significant decrease in Goliad Ware during the Mexican Era making up 4.6 and less than 1 percent of the total assemblage respectively. Interestingly, the overall

decrease in Goliad Ware at Mexican Era sites generally corresponds with a decrease in proportions of Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware and/or Valero Ware over time (Figure 7-72). The outlier in this trend is of course 41BX6, which CAR analysts determined was comprised of 4.5 percent Valero Ware (n=123) and Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware (n=2). This is not a surprise since Valero Ware is named after Mission Valero and the relatively high proportion within the 41BX6 deposit either supports my hypothesis that the entrenchment fill contains some portion of earlier deposits from a stratified midden, or that the area around the Alamo maintained a ceramic tradition established at the location in the eighteenth century that endured well into the nineteenth century. At the very least, the overall data suggest that English ceramics became more popular at the household level while locally-produced ceramics became less popular. However, as I will expand upon in Chapter 8, I do not believe English ceramics functionally replaced locally-produced ceramics, but instead I think that by the Mexican Era there is a shift in household practices and the overall increase of English ceramic types more accurately reflects new domestic activities than the continuation of old practices with the same types of objects.

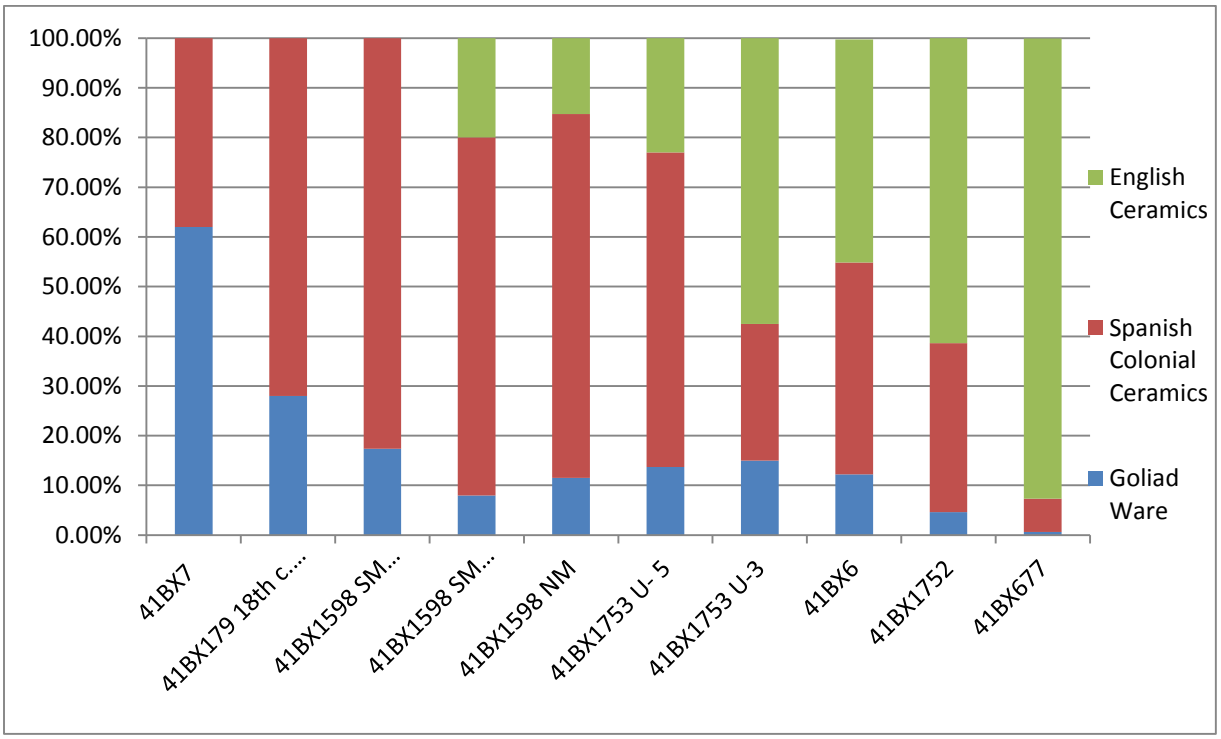

Figure 7-71: Proportional composition of ceramic assemblages according to origin.

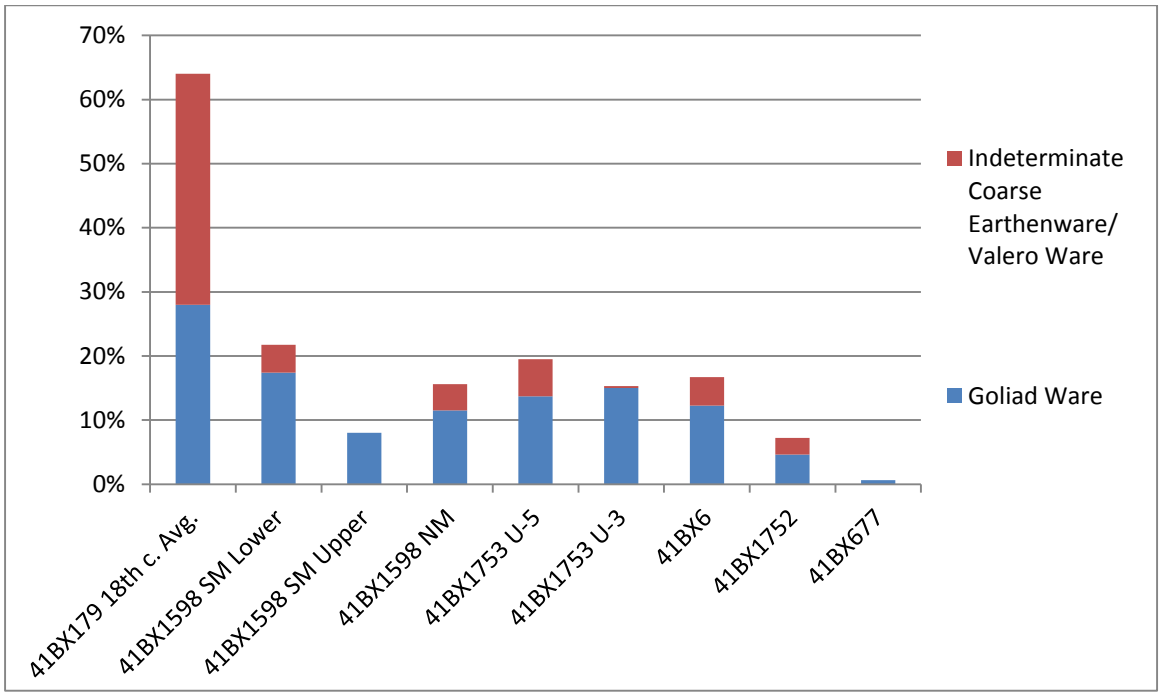

Figure 7-72: Proportions of locally-produced ceramic types.

Figure 7-73 depicts the proportions of the major artifact classes recovered from each site and reveals that glass artifacts (n=780), primarily bottle glass (69.5 percent of analyzed sample) comprise over 15 percent of the 41BX1752 non-bone collection, or three times the proportion observed in Unit 3 at 41BX1753, the next highest glass proportion. This percentage of glass recovered from 41BX1752 is actually understated due to the overrepresentation of lithic artifacts in the non-bone collection as a result of the high proportion of non-cultural lithic shatter associated with the cobble zone located above ODF 1 and ODF 2. While comparable percentages of artifact classes are not available for 41BX6 and 41BX677, the data suggest that those two sites actually have higher proportions of glass artifacts at least relative to ceramics. While 41BX6 has a rough ratio of 1.7 glass artifacts (n=4,783) to every one ceramic sherd (n=2800), the 41BX677 collection contains 1.8 ceramic sherds (n=1625) to every glass artifact (n=868), and 41BX1752 has 2.5 ceramic sherds (n=1968) for every glass artifact (n=780).

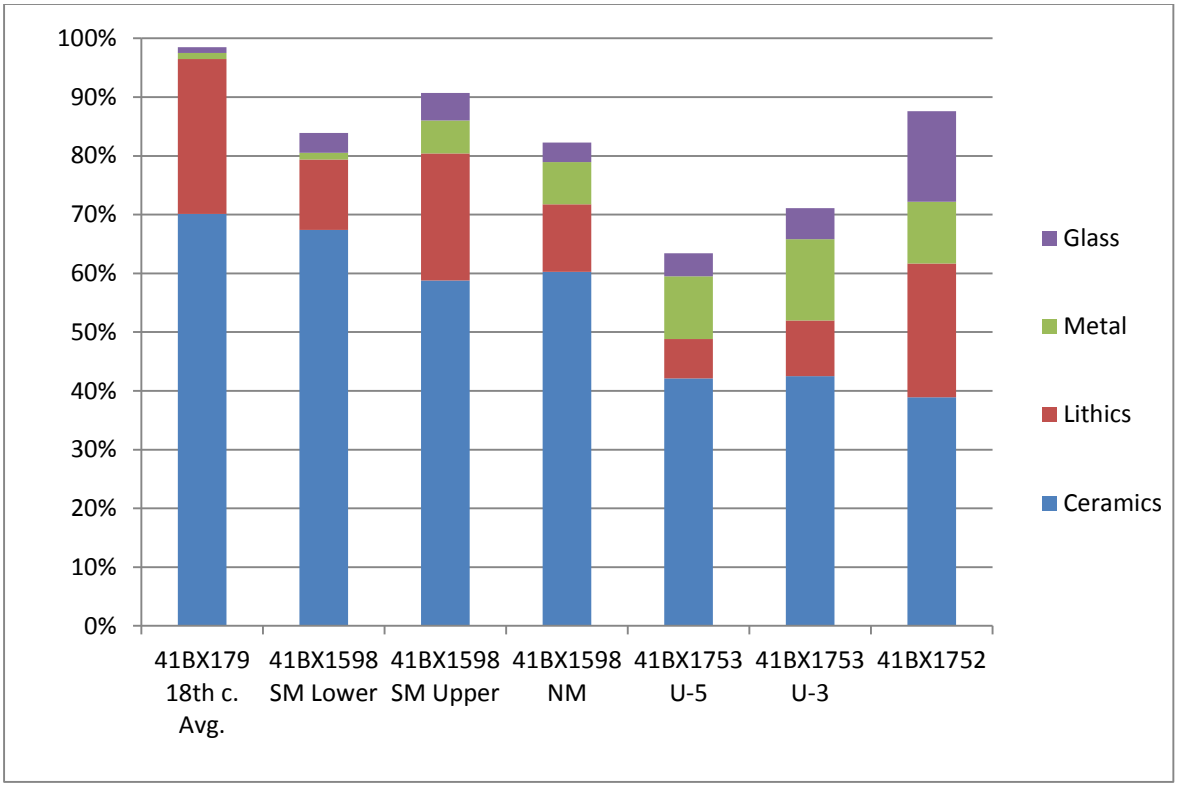

Figure 7-73: Proportions of major artifact classes.

Accordingly, the proportion of metal artifacts (n=532), which comprises 10.5 percent of the non-bone collection is also understated based on the overrepresentation of lithic artifacts in the 41BX1752 collection, and in reality the proportion most likely falls somewhere between the percentages of metal artifacts in Units 3 and 5 at 41BX1753. This comparison, and really any comparison of proportions of artifact classes between 41BX1752 and the previously discussed sites, is misleading because it suggests that certain materials, like glass, increased over time while metal items remained somewhat stable during the nineteenth century. As Figure 7-73 depicts, the reality is that while glass did become more prevalent in the household overall, so did all types of materials Figure 7-74 depicts the relative densities of artifacts and animal bones from Unit B-E, the most dense eighteenth century deposit at 41BX179, the midden zones at 41BX1598, the two units at 41BX1753, and the ODF 1 midden deposit at 41BX1752 and reveals that ODF 1 contained over five times the number of artifacts per cubic meter than the average (n=562) of

the other sites and 3.7 times the next highest density observed in the upper portion of the Southern Midden at 41BX1598 (n=800). Because they are also midden deposits, 41BX179 and 41BX1598 are directly comparable to the ODF 1 data, and one conclusion that can be drawn from comparing these data is that durable goods in general were likely more common and more accessible during the Mexican Era than in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. While this conclusion may seem like common sense, as I mentioned above and will expand upon in later chapters, this increase in goods, the types of goods, and the networks that brought these goods to San Antonio altered existing, and introduced new domestic practices that likely had an effect on how individuals, families, and the community viewed themselves.

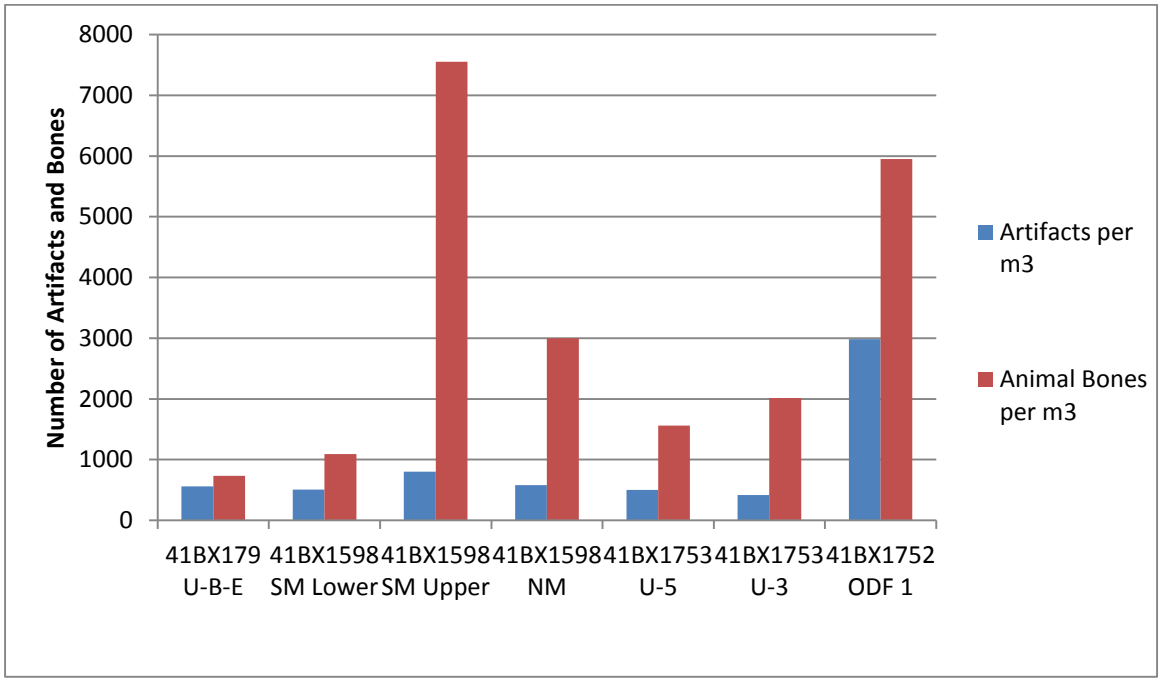

Figure 7-74: Relative densities of artifacts and animal bones.

Figure 7-74 also indicates that ODF 1 had a density of faunal bone almost twice the average of all the sites discussed and second only to the upper zone of the Southern Midden at 41BX1598 (n=7,554.7 bones per m^3). While the faunal bone density in the upper zone of the Southern Midden is likely very high, the number presented in Figure 7-73 may not be as representative of the Southern Midden as the

data are for ODF 1. UTSA-CAR investigated the upper zone of the Southern MIdden with a single unit (50 x 50 cm) and recovered 1,008 specimens from that unit, while the ODF 1 data represent specimens collected from four units that showed tremendous variation in faunal bone density ranging from 3,067.6 bones per m^3 in Unit 8 to 10,235.9 specimens per m^3 in Unit 7. As such, it is reasonable to conclude that there was some depositional variation across the Southern Midden and that in terms of bone density per cubic meter, the two features are probably more similar than the numbers suggest.

Figure 7-75 depicts the identified specimen collections from each site according to animal size and reveals that the majority of the 41BX1752 collection is comprised of large animals, and unlike the faunal bone densities, in terms of composition 41BX1752 is most similar to the Northern Midden at 41BX1598. As mentioned, CAR did not include freshwater mussels in their overall faunal analysis and when they are excluded from the 41BX1752 collection, the results are even more alike to the Northern Midden with 62 percent large animals, 58 percent of which are cattle, 32 percent medium mammals, and four percent small animals. Similarly, as mentioned above, the 41BX677 collection of identified specimens is comprised of 86 percent cattle. These data together support CAR's general conclusion that large animal remains increased over time and more specifically, beef had become a significant portion of the local diet by the Mexican Era.

Coincidentally, the relatively high densities of faunal remains in the later deposits are also likely a reflection of the overall higher proportions of larger animals in the collections. The higher densities of bones along with the types of bones found in the 41BX1752 collection are also indicative of butchering activities. While the collection has direct evidence of sawed and chopped bone, the 41BX1752 identified specimens collection contains a near even ratio of meat-bearing (n = 158) to nonmeat-bearing bones (n = 138) suggesting that the faunal remains do not only provide evidence of diet, but they also provide

insight into a domestic activity. Labadie (1986) also noted that the 41BX677 collection contained a number of specimens like cattle phalanges and calcanei suggesting similar practices at 41BX677.

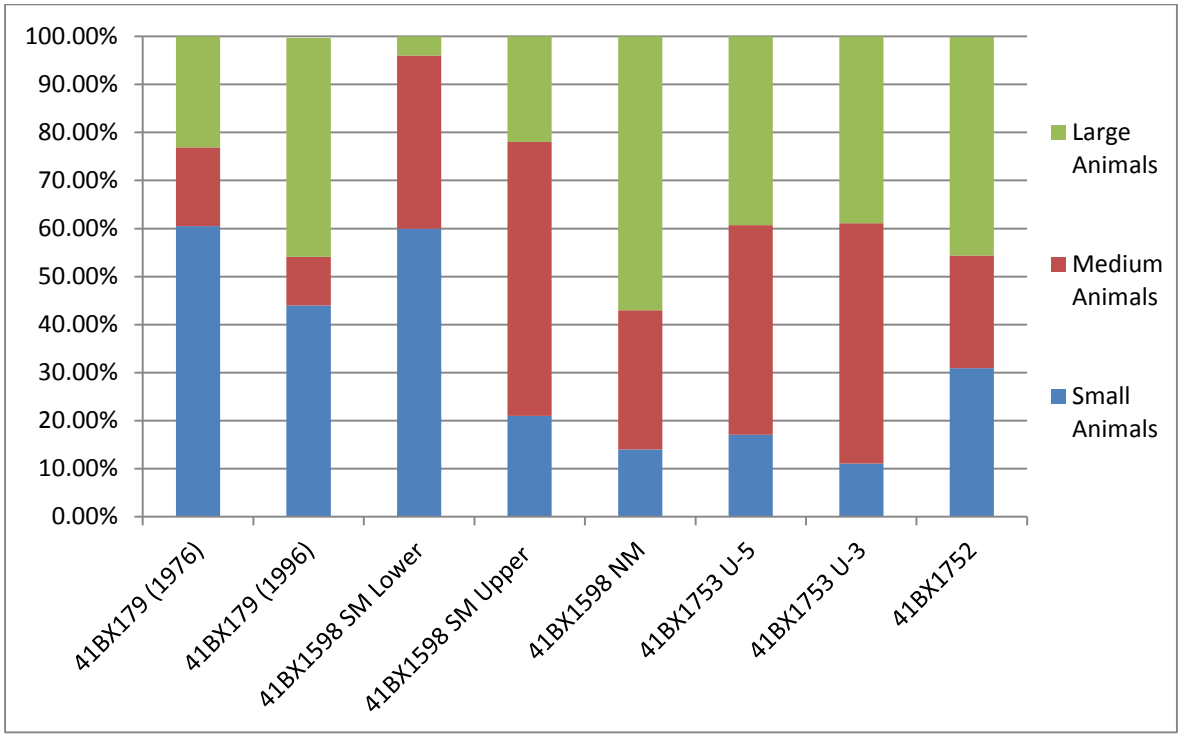

Figure 7-75: Identified specimen's collections from each site according to animal size.

The archaeological and archival investigations at 41BX1752 provide insight into domestic life on the Main Plaza during the late Spanish Colonial and Mexican Period as well as on a pivotal event in the Texas War of Independence. The materials recovered from ODF 1 can be traced to the one of the city's most influential families and offer a wealth of data representing domestic practices on the Main Plaza and in the region. On the other hand, ODF 2 represents the only evidence of the Siege of *Béxar* on the Main Plaza. The investigations of ODF 2 provide insight into the conditions of the Main Plaza during the siege, and shed light on an often overlooked, but extremely important period in the Texas War of Independence.

Although the collection shares certain characteristics with the previously discussed sites, the 41BX1752 collection is largely defined by change. Texas was again the stage for international politics

during the Mexican Era and with the flood of Anglo-American colonists into Texas came changes at various scales including the household. While the sharp increase in English ceramics in nineteenth century deposits is the most obvious evidence of this social, economic, and political revolution in the domestic sphere, the overall increase of goods in general probably more appropriately speaks to the variety of ways in which new influences entered the household.

With new goods came new practices. Although the obvious changes like trading ceramic jars for glass bottles or lithic tools for metal ones were significant earlier in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, during the Mexican Era new goods inundated the market and introduced new practices and influenced change in daily life in both overt ways as well as in more nuanced ones. Evidence of glass container bottles, tea sets, and dress buttons in the archaeological record indicate that individuals and families were changing what they drank, how they drank it and how they dressed. At a broader level, this evidence suggests that *Béxareño*s were changing the ways in which they consumed goods in general and households that were formerly defined as traditional and conservative became interested in participating in an international market. Over time these new goods and new practices were entrenched in daily life and became the mundane, the normal, and central to the reformation of *Tejano* identity. The following chapter expands on these thoughts and examines the concept of the frontier market to identify the aspects of supply, production, and trade in *Béxar* and clarify the material practices that were integral to shaping *Tejano* identity over time.

Chapter 8 : Materiality and Identity on the Frontier

Introduction

The theoretical framework of this dissertation suggests that material conditions influence practices and identity is built on the interplay between agents, the material world, and practices. My general conclusion based on the three case study sites and the other comparative sites is that *Tejano* identity changed over time in part because of changing material conditions and the concomitant changes in domestic practices. Based on the archaeological evidence presented in the previous chapters I concluded that during the eighteenth century *Béxareño*s relied on local traditions, technologies, and practices that contributed to the establishment of a distinct regional identity. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries this regional identity began to change as imported goods became more prevalent in the household. By the eve of the Texas War of Independence, the community was inundated by imported goods, and with new goods and influences came new practices that had significant effects on *Tejano* identity.

While this is an investigation of the mundane goods of daily life and their effects on identity, I realize that the changes in material culture and practices in *Béxar* are tied to a broader context of international politics and economics. As discussed in Chapter Three, the concept of *Tejano* identity and cultural change within this broader politico-economic context, have been the focuses for *Tejano* historians. Poyo and Hernandez recognized that in the eighteenth century *Tejano* identity was based on "economic forces, social interaction, [and] merged political interests" while Resendez suggested that the nineteenth century frontier identity formed within a tension between a "Mexican national project and expanding American market forces" (Poyo and Hernandez 1991: xx; Resendez 2006: 6; 11). Perhaps more germane to my conclusions, Ramos determined that *Tejano* identity formed and changed within this broader political and economic context and that *Béxareño*s used "locally established cultural and

ideological practices [to] reconfigure their notions of ethnic identity" when confronted with Indigenous, European, and Anglo-American identities (Ramos 2008: 7-8).

This chapter takes these broader concepts into consideration and contextualizes the archaeological record at international, national, regional, and local scales using the historical record in an attempt to clarify how and why the material world changed in the region and how those changes may have affected the daily practices that are integral to identity. In one way this is (and has been) a diachronic study of the goods and materials used by *Tejanos*. However, once contextualized outside of the household midden or cistern it becomes obvious that this is also a study of the frontier market economy and all of its implications. This chapter investigates this idea of the frontier market at various temporal and spatial scales and interrogates aspects of the material record within these contexts. Following the archaeological data, this chapter examines facets of supply, production, and trade in *Béxar* and focuses on frontier goods to elucidate some of the material practices that were integral to shaping *Tejano* identity.

Summarily, as a frontier community *Béxar* was always susceptible to supply shortages, and during the majority of the eighteenth century shortages in general were a reality of daily life. Although shortages were due to many factors they were primarily the result of the inhospitable frontier conditions, corruption among officials, and the threat of attack by first the Apache and subsequently by Comanche and other *Norteño* groups. The lack of supplies and everyday goods clearly impacted daily life in the villa and presidio, but the frontier conditions and the threat of hostile indigenous groups also prevented *Béxareño*s from adequately working their fields and establishing ranches, thus interrupting production and thwarting any hope at establishing a trade market. On another level, the dangerous frontier conditions and the indigenous threat also shaped and constrained the community. *Béxareño*s clustered their households close to the presidio for the little defense it offered and restricted their

overall daily activities including working the fields and tending to cattle, the foundations of *Béxar's* economy.

On the other hand, during most of this period the missions experienced a relative wealth of production and established the foundations of cattle ranching techniques, practices, and traditions in the region. As a result, *Béxareño*s turned to the missions for supplies, and it was "the mission Indians that saved San Antonio on more than one occasion" (Castañeda 1939: 3). The relief provided to the presidio and villa by the missions appears in the archaeological record as sherds of indigenous ceramics and chert flakes, but is even more fleeting in the archival record which is dominated by petitions by the settlers against the missions that claimed the missionaries misappropriated native labor and the missions' lands to the detriment of the villa. Despite the opinions of the settlers, the missions provided essential goods and supplies to *Béxareño*s and in doing so, helped shape domestic practices in *Béxar*. Furthermore, the mission Indians established the cattle ranching industry in the San Antonio River valley, and as such, they laid the foundation for what would become the core of *Béxar's* economy in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and many of the defining characteristics of the regional identity.

Once *Béxareño*s were finally able to establish their footholds in the cattle ranching economy in the second half of the eighteenth century, they were confronted with stifling and costly colonial economic policies that prompted *Tejanos* to look to the east for economic opportunities. These economic policies in addition to unreliable supply routes from the south and the aforementioned indigenous threat initiated an active contraband market during the colonial period that became an even more robust import economy during the Mexican period. Archaeological and archival evidence suggests that foreign trading supplied *Béxar* with everyday goods and provided value for frontier materials, but also created opportunities for interaction among *Tejanos*, indigenous groups, and foreign

entities. I argue that participation in illicit trade in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries forged important relationships across the frontier, and that the mundane trade items that comprised the illicit trade market introduced new practices that were significant to forging a broader *Tejano* identity. This process intensified during the Mexican period as an influx of foreign goods and colonists introduced new influences and practices to the frontier. As in the previous decades, these foreign goods and new practices served a significant role in reshaping *Tejano* identity. However, the push to expand commerce in the region through colonization also thrust the frontier into the center of international politics where *Tejano* interests intersected with American imperialism and an emerging consumer culture to change the frontier forever.

The following chapter expands on these points by contextualizing the arguments with the archival and archaeological records to examine the specificities of the frontier market over time. Ultimately though, this chapter is a discussion about everyday goods, the practices that they are associated with, and the interplay between agents, objects, and practices and the ways in which this interplay shaped *Tejano* identity over time.

Supply and Production in Eighteenth Century *Béxar*

As a result of the community's remote location, small population, and broader colonial regulations, trade and commerce were generally limited in eighteenth century *Béxar*. Spanish mercantilism throughout the colonial period sought to establish trade monopolies over the colonies through restrictive trade laws that ensured their dependency on Spain, and in general, Spanish colonial mercantilist policies were some of the most restrictive in the New World (Dawdy 2008: 103; Skowronek 1984: 7). Under these policies direct trade with foreign entities was forbidden for the colonies, and trade amongst the colonies was severely restricted, required licenses and administrative approval, and was burdened by numerous taxes, tariffs, and duties. However, Spain was historically unable to produce

the goods needed by its colonies, and to meet their needs under mercantilist policy, the Crown purchased goods from foreign sources to sell back to the colonies at a profit (Skowronek 1984: 7).

San Antonio certainly existed within this economic system. *Béxar's* agrarian economy in the eighteenth century would probably be more aptly described as a subsistence economy, and because the community had little opportunity to produce more than what was needed to just survive, *Béxareño*s relied on supplies from outside sources for their everyday goods. This supply-based economy was also drastically flawed as the distance from Mexico City and other colonial economic centers resulted in excessive transport expenses for common goods from the south, a situation exacerbated by undeveloped, unreliable, and dangerous supply roads as well as limited local production, a specie-scarce environment, and a restrictive export market.

The presidio in theory had regularized supply schedules that provided the soldiers and their families with goods. However, all of the factors listed above impacted presidio's access to supplies in addition to corruption at *habilitación*, or presidio store. In short the presidio commander gave the paymaster the power to collect the company's salaries that were subsequently used to purchase goods in Mexico City or Saltillo and shipped back to the presidio store (Fox and Ulrich 2008: 26). Soldiers paid the price of the goods, often at inflated prices, as well as the purchase and transport fees with their salary, conditions that often led to soldiers receiving their entire salary in goods. These goods included essential service equipment: uniforms, guns, shoes, riding equipment, necessary personal items: soap, tobacco, fabric and household items: cook wares, utilitarian wares, service wares, and foodstuffs (ibid.: 26).

As suggested above, this system was susceptible to corruption, and the most common complaints throughout the eighteenth century included price gouging and substandard goods. However, corruption also resulted in regular supply shortages including at least one major supply

shortage that lasted over two years. In 1743 Commander Thoribio Urrutia initiated a civil case against his paymaster Don Juan de Ángulo who, according to testimonies of the citizens, had sent one shipment of supplies in over two years that "halfway remedied" the needs of "twenty-seven of the entire company [and] sixteen received nothing whatever" (Urrutia 1743: 8). According to the testimony of Don Pedro Ocón y Trillo, because of the shortage, "many families were not going to mass because they were naked" (Ibid: 9). Furthermore, according to Ocón y Trillo, an original settler of the presidio, the supplies that Ángulo did send were the worst he had ever seen and included:

> "Mexican cloth of inferior quality [that] had been substituted for cretonnes, rotten, third-grade Holland cloth [substituted for] second grade English cloth, common-place, poorly made spurs [that] had been listed under the caption of 'superfine', and the same was true of the bridles, of the guns, which were old and repaired, of the trappings which were of the most inferior type from overseas, of the Mexican gun cases, with the caption of 'San Miguel,' which were very ordinary, of the rotten tobacco, much of which [was] thrown out in the plaza, of the pita fiber, completely rotten, so that it was not possible to obtain a single good skein from the entire amount, of the snuff, so infamous that much of it had been thrown out because of its bad quality, and much of it was still in the place that was being used as a store, of the combs of unserviceable wood, with the label of 'fine boxwood', of the rotten coarse silk sent under the caption 'Calabrian silk', of the silk neckties that are not used here. He said that he knew beyond a doubt that eight dozen cruppers of parched cowhide and goods which are not used in this region had been included: copper comales which would break into pieces after they had been put on the fire a few times, and this is an article that is universally made of iron because it is so essential an item here, and that he knew that the greater part of the shipment consisted of useless items" (Urrutia 1743: 9-10).

Urrutia's civil case against Ángulo also clarifies an important point that the presidial settlers were not the only members of the community affected by the supply shortage. José Curbelo, an *Isleño* settler as well as numerous other residents of the villa also testified against Ángulo and stated that the supply shortage had impacted their access to essential goods. Curbelo specifically mentioned that "many soldiers and all the residents were left without provisions" and that "the soldiers as well as the residents were suffering and naked" (Urrutia 1743: 18). I make this point because although it is clear how the presidio received its goods, there is a little more uncertainty in regard to how the villa residents received their supplies. According to this document and other sources, the residents of San Fernando primarily relied on the presidio to sell their produce and buy their goods for at least the first few decades of settlement. Like the soldiers, this relationship dealt entirely on credit and was often subject to price gouging of which both Captain Luis Antonio Menchaca and Governor Barón de Ripperdá were accused in the 1760s and 1770s (de la Teja 1995: 130).

While the example above provides evidence of how corruption limited supplies in *Béxar*, the supply chain from Mexico and the community's production was also severely limited in the eighteenth century due to the presence of the Apache, the Comanche, and other *Norteño* groups. At the time when *Béxar* was initially settled, the frontier was an established battleground between the Apache and the Comanche. In the previous century, the Apache aggressively raided Spanish and indigenous communities across the Southern Plains and in doing so they made numerous enemies including many of the bands that coalesced to form the Comanche in the early eighteenth century. As nomadic groups already adapted to life on the plains and armed with firearms supplied by French traders, the Comanche began to dominate the Apache and pushed them southward towards San Antonio. Due to the threat of the Comanche, the Apache were cut off from their semi-agricultural lifestyle and as such began to rely on raiding *Béxar* for survival. Spanish colonial policy in turn encouraged campaigns against the Apache and other indigenous groups in the region to acquire slaves as well as horses and hides (Wade 2008:

222). In short, *Béxar* also found itself at war with the Apache until 1749 when the Apache, devastated by years of war with the Comanche, decided to make peace with the Spanish and enter a mission (Wade 2003: 183).

In 1758 the Spanish established Mission Santa Cruz de San Sabá in the San Saba River valley to Christianize the Apache. However, the Apache never occupied the mission, and shortly after it was established the mission was attacked by 1,500 to 2,000 Comanche and other *Norteño* groups who killed twenty five individuals and burned the mission (Wade 2003: 189). The massacre at San Sabá marked the beginning of a period of warfare between the Spanish and the Comanche that lasted until 1785 when the Spanish-Comanche treaty was signed. Pedro Vidal and Francisco Xavier Cháves (41BX1752) brokered this deal after a campaign by the Spanish that utilized trade and gifts in an attempt to foster friendship with the Comanche.

The early archival record is more or less defined by Apache attacks on *Béxar* and acts of plundering and warfare were common events from settlement until 1749 with a slight lull during a period of relative peace in the late 1720s. However, a document dating to a period after the Spanish made peace with the Apache probably best summarizes the effects of decades of war with the Apache on the community. In a 1756 petition by the residents of the villa against the missions, a number of stock-owning residents of *Béxar* including Luis Antonio Menchaca, Francisco Delgado, Jose Padrón, Vincente Travieso, Martín Flores, José Curbelo, and Andrés Ramón remarked upon the conditions in *Béxar* with respect to the Apache and indicate that,

> "the poverty and the calamities that beset [the villa] in consequence of the fact that in this province there are no opportunities for commerce [because] of the suspicious fears inspired by the imminence of war with the frontier Apache Indians that have always beset her. For we cannot conscientiously vouch for their stability or constancy until time shall fully prove the

> genuineness of their promises to congregate [in the missions] in as much as these promises may prove to be as unreliable as the many promises they have previously made. Lead by their own interests the [Apache] have remained at peace because by this means they have been able to kill with greater impunity the stock of all the stock owners in this locality for, as you know, they have left us without any cattle and have carried off the horses and whatever else they run across, thus proving to us the inherently evil nature of this propensity of theirs. And not only does their evil nature impel them to continual depredations but that the only reason they are now restraining themselves to a limited extent is in order to take advantage of a situation favorable to their own self-interest (Regimiento de San Fernando 1756).

The claimants were clearly unhappy with the prospect that the Apache were going to get a mission. As the document suggests, *Béxareño*s believed that the unfavorable conditions and lack of commerce in *Béxar* were a direct result of Apache raids, which apparently continued in the form of slaughtering stock well into the 1750s. The claimants' anger was not just due to the fact that their long-standing enemies were going to receive a mission, but more important, establishing an Apache mission was ironically at the expense of the villas' safety because an essential condition of the establishment of the new mission was that a number of soldiers had to be transferred from San Antonio to San Sabá to protect the new mission. Furthermore, although safety was a concern, the claimants also recognized that the presidio was the community's premier source of commerce and if the presidio was reduced, then the villa would "be completely depopulated" (Regimiento de San Fernando 1756).

I chose to include the document above in this discussion because it provides *Béxareño*s' testimonies regarding how the Apache disrupted production and supply in the villa up through the 1750s. However, the original intent of the petition was not to document Apache depredations. Instead, the *Béxareño*s filed the petition against the mission Fathers and Indians claiming that the missions had a

monopoly over land in the region. More important, the claimants believed the missions' overall objectives were leading to the demise of the villa. According to the petition, the claimants believed that the missions' land monopoly constrained the growth of the community and if the villa was freed from this oppression "a big city could be built here in time" (Regimiento de San Fernando 1756). The petitioners also believed that the land monopoly was unwarranted because the missions "have so few Indians" that "it is impossible to supply enough to cultivate the fields of these missions," but most significantly, they claimed that,

> "And what is worse is that these lands will never be turned over to the common people because the reverend Fathers forbid all communication and dealings between [the Indians] and the Spaniards, and even though some of them become *ladinos* [the Fathers] contrive to bring in carts of other ignorant (*bozáles*) Indians whom they want to keep in this state. The sole purpose of this being to profit from the needs of presidial men, although the Indians derive no benefit therefrom" (Regimiento de San Fernando 1756).

These last excerpts provide insight into the claimants underlying intentions. To begin with, their claim that the missions' land monopoly constricted the growth of the community contradicts their earlier testimonies regarding the effects of Apache depredations on the community. As suggested above, the Apache clearly affected production and supply in *Béxar*. However, the overall dangers of the frontier, largely defined by the Apache, also posed the most significant obstacle to recruiting settlers to the frontier, and as such, it was not a lack of available land that constrained the community's growth. Furthermore, in the final excerpt from the 1756 petition provided above, the claimants indicate that the reason why the land will never be a part of the community is because the Fathers prohibit the mission Indians from communicating with the community despite the profits the missions gained from the presidio. In this statement the petitioners essentially conflate the missions' land with the mission

Indians and their labor, making it seem that the *Béxareño*s' real intentions were to acquire both the land and the mission Indians upon which "a big city could be built" (Regimiento de San Fernando 1756).

Despite their claims that there were not enough neophytes at the missions to cultivate the fields, according to a 1762 report by Fr. Mariano de los Dolores y Viana there was an average of 223 people at each mission in San Antonio that in total produced 5,920 bushels of corn and 176 bushels of beans and cared for 2,987 head of cattle, 1,164 horses, 33 mules and donkeys, and 12,000 sheep and goats (Wade 2008: 235). The data for this report were collected in March of 1762 and as such, they likely represent the remainder of the surplus after the winter and contradictorily suggest that the missions were both relatively well populated and very capable of producing a surplus (ibid.: 235). Furthermore, in a counterclaim, Fr. Dolores complained to officials that the townspeople participated "in continuous slaughters [at] the missions' ranches, from which they not only supply themselves, but also send loads of lard, tallow, and meat to the presidio and town" (de la Teja 2001: 51).

This evidence further indicates that the claimants were not as concerned with the missions' land monopoly as they were interested in acquiring new sources of labor, production, and goods. The petition and Fr. Dolores' counterclaim actually address a larger dispute between the villa and the missions regarding mission Indian labor and ownership of the region's wild stock, or *mesteños* that began in the late 1730s and lasted until the missions were secularized at the end of the century. As I will discuss further below, the missions' role in the development of the region's cattle economy provides insight into the indirect ways the missions supplied the villa and contributed to the material practices that came to define the community. However, the missions also directly supplied the villa and presidio and as Castañeda suggested, "the mission Indians [saved] San Antonio on more than one occasion" (Castañeda 1939: 4: 3). Although the original presidial settlers practiced communal farming in an attempt to make community self-sufficient, the missions were the primary suppliers of maize and other

crops for the presidio throughout the 1720s and early 1730s (de la Teja: 90). The missions remained a primary source of agricultural products for the presidio after the arrival of the *Isleños,* who were criticized as being lazy and disinterested in working the fields throughout the eighteenth century (de la Teja 1995: 90-91). Although *Isleños* and other townspeople complained that the missions prevented commerce from developing in the region as in the 1756 petition above, they also put forth very little effort in establishing an agricultural market beyond a subsistence economy. During the eighteenth century, the community did not have a granary for the maize they produced and despite numerous prompts by the colonial administration to have the community grow wheat, the townspeople were generally unwilling to plant wheat and never constructed a flour mill (ibid.: 93). On the other hand, the missions and their impressive labor force regularly produced surpluses, and the argument could be made that *Béxareño*s recognized that there was little hope in competing with missions in the local market where the presidio was the only viable source of commerce for their agricultural goods and therefore saw little reason to produce beyond their own needs.

While there is ample evidence in the archival record concerning the ways in which *Béxareño*s profited indirectly from the mission Indians' labor, there is also evidence that the residents of the villa and the presidio traded directly with the mission Indians. Despite prohibitions against interaction between the two groups, *Béxareño*s and the mission Indians were often in contact. Circumstances including various public works projects and mass regularly brought mission Indians and the residents of the villa and presidio together. The position on this topic waivered among the colonial administration, but the Fathers generally prohibited interaction between the two groups, and as such, the archival record includes numerous complaints and petitions by the Fathers trying to limit interaction. In one of the more extreme incidents, in 1736 Fr. Mariano de los Delores requested and was granted the removal of the bridge over the San Antonio River that connected the villa and presidio with Mission Valero because the "soldiers and settlers freely came and went to the mission at all times and many neophytes

complained that the visitors stole many of their belongings, distracted them during their prayer, and became familiar with the Indian women of the missions" (Castañeda 1938: 3: 53-54).

Less drastic attempts by the Fathers to limit interaction between the neophytes and *Béxareño*s were commonplace during the eighteenth century. However, a 1772 decree by Governor Barón de Ripperdá indicates that illicit trade between *Béxareño*s and the mission Indians had become so common that the offense would from that point forward be punishable by imprisonment and a fine. According to the document Ripperdá,

> "[needed] to attend to the repeated complaints concerning the illicit trade many of the residents of this presido and villa are engaged with the Indians of the Mission, so much that [when the Indians come to this Presidio] as well as when [the residents] go looking for them at the aforesaid Missions, they strip [the Indians] of most of the jewels (*alajas*) given to them for their wardrobe, as well as their moveable goods (*muebles*), necessities (*cosas necessarios*), and foodstuffs (*alimento*), and ultimately, provoke them by giving them aguardiente" (Ripperdá 1772).

Although the document does not specify which goods, necessities, or foodstuffs the mission Indians traded with the presidio and villa residents, according to Fr. Dolores' 1762 report referenced above, the neophytes had few possessions to trade overall. According to Fr. Dolores, mission households were generally sparse and were comprised of a bed, maybe a chest and a few household items including clay pots, comales, manos and metates, metal pots, and kettles as well as personal goods including clothing, shoes, beads, brushes, and knives (Benoist and Flores 1994: 19-25; Wade 2008: 237). Despite the limited material possessions afforded to the neophytes, Fr. Dolores' report on the other hand boasted about the splendor of the missions' churches and the successful enterprises built on mission Indian labor. As I indicated above and will expand on below, the mission Indians produced agricultural surpluses and managed sizable herds of cattle, but within the overall mission paradigm where conversion was directly

tied to economic practices, they were also responsible for satisfying most, if not all, of their material needs (ibid.: 21). Mission Indians produced virtually everything they needed to survive at the mission, and while working the fields and ranches were integral to survival, so were cooking and weaving. The missions' relative successes in the fields and with raising stock in the eighteenth century were likely mirrored in their ability to produce surpluses of the same necessary goods they used in their daily practices. Just as the missions sold their agricultural surpluses to the presidio, it is also likely that they recognized the presidio and villa as a market in need of the everyday goods they produced.

Discussion

The evidence above underscores a few important points. In short, from settlement through the 1750s and as late as the 1770s, *Béxareño*s practiced subsistence agriculture and relied on the presidio and missions for essential goods. Because of various factors including a dangerous frontier due to the presence of the Apache and the Comanche as well as corruption at the presidio, the goods offered the presidio were often limited, substandard, and/or expensive. Similarly, production at the villa suffered greatly throughout this period as a result of the Apache and Comanche threat. Conversely, the missions experienced a relative wealth of production during the period and monopolized the local corn and cattle market to a point where the presidio and villa at times relied on missions for survival. Similarly, the evidence indicates that as a result of the depressed market, the missions also supplied *Béxareño*s with essential goods through illegal or unsupervised trade as well as through indirect ways such as *Béxareño*s' raids on the missions' unsupervised cattle herds. The following section reviews the evidence presented above in relation to the archaeological data presented in past chapters to examine how conditions in the region during the eighteenth century affected the material world in *Béxar* and how local traditions, technologies, and practices contributed to the establishment of a distinct regional identity.

The testimonies from Urrutia's 1743 case against Don Juan de Ángulo provide important insight into the material conditions in *Béxar* in the 1740s by depicting the community as "suffering and naked"

during an interruption in supply (Urrutia 1743). These conditions were echoed nearly thirty years later when Captain Luis Antonio Menchaca complained of "deplorable conditions" of the villa and presidio "due to the repeated attacks of the numerous northern tribes (*las numerosa naciones del norte*), in addition to the tremendous damages caused by the Apache tribes with their false peace" (Menchaca 1769). According to Menchaca, the Norteños slaughtered cattle, stole horses, and "killed four muleteers coming for corn [and] have this land in such harassment that no one can travel anymore" (ibid.). These two accounts as well as the 1756 petition provided above summarize the ways in which supply and production were deeply impacted by frontier conditions and aptly portray the overall poor state of the community.

While supplies were certainly scarce, Don Pedro Ocón y Trillo's testimony from Urrutia's 1743 case provides important insights into the material world of eighteenth century *Béxar* by revealing the expectations for and the importance of certain goods. Most notably, Ocón y Trillo's identified iron *comales* as essential because they were more durable than copper ones, but most of the items he listed were "inferior," "unserviceable" "useless" or "not used in this region" indicating that functional goods were the primary concern for Don Ocón y Trillo and that neck ties, cruppers, and useless items were not needed on the frontier.

Similarly, a review of Juan Leal Goraz's 1743 estate inventory reveals that he also lived in modest material conditions during this period. As mentioned in Chapter Seven, Juan Leal Goraz was the head of the *Isleño* families upon arriving in *Béxar*, held a lifetime appointment as *alcalde*, and was an influential individual within the community. However, at his death the majority of his possessions included his dilapidated house at the southeast corner of the Main Plaza, a few articles of clothing, a few tools (some of which were broken), two beds, a few oxen, four cows, three mules, a horse, and some debt (Goraz 1743). Beyond this list of his very modest possessions was a locked pine box containing

seventeen hunting knives with horn handles and six strands of white and one strand of blue beads. The items in the pine box indicate the possibility that Goraz may have been a small scale trader, which support a claim that Fr. Benito Fernández made in a response to a complaint against the missions by the *Isleños* purporting that the missions were prohibiting the expansion of commerce in the region (de la Teja: 131-132; Goraz 1743).

The modest material conditions of the eighteenth century represented in the archival record are reflected in the archaeological record within the colonial deposits at the Spanish Governor's Palace (41BX179) and to a degree the Delgado Cistern (41BX1753) and Núñez-Arocha Middens (41BX1598). The densest eighteenth century midden deposit at the Governor's Palace (Unit B-E) contained 558.8 artifacts per cubic meter and the average artifact density among the features at 41BX1753 and 41BX1598 is 562 artifacts per cubic meter or about one sixth of the density of the nineteenth century deposits investigated at 41BX1752 (2,983 artifacts per cubic meter). These data at least suggest changes in refuse disposal over time, but most likely represent the relatively modest amount of goods available in the eighteenth century compared to what was available in the nineteenth century. Along these same lines, ceramics and lithics comprise an average of 96.75 percent of the non-faunal artifact types from eighteenth century contexts at 41BX179 and an average of 66 percent of the 41BX1753 and 41BX1598 collections, indicating that the variety of types of available materials were especially limited in the early eighteenth century. Finally, ceramic types representing utilitarian vessels combine to comprise an average of 78.6 percent of 41BX179 eighteenth century assemblages, a characteristic that echoes Ocón y Trillo's preference for utilitarian goods in the frontier community.

The most distinct characteristic of the eighteenth assemblages is the high proportions of locally-made ceramics and lithics. At least 64 percent of the ceramic assemblage from eighteenth century deposits at 41BX179 is comprised of either Goliad Ware (n=28 percent) or wheel-made Indeterminate

Coarse Earthenware (n=36 percent) while lithics on average make up over 26 percent of the total collections. These high proportions of Goliad Ware and lithics, which are representative of the centuries-old indigenous traditions of Central Texas, strongly suggest that residents of the presidio and the villa interacted and traded with local indigenous groups. Similarly, the significant proportion of Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware, which analysts in the past have broadly defined as Valero Ware due to the type's prolific presence at Mission Valero, also indicates that *Béxareño*s at the presidio and the villa interacted and traded goods with the Mission Indians.

My discussion above broadly characterizes indigenous groups outside of the missions as either Apache or Comanche and always as enemies responsible for limiting production or interrupting supply to *Béxar.* This is admittedly an oversimplification of the actual conditions of the region where numerous indigenous groups and individuals interacted with *Béxareño*s both willingly and unwillingly. The archive identifies a variety of indigenous groups in the general region over the eighteenth century that obviously interacted with residents of San Antonio. In fact, in 1760 Governor Ángel de Martos y Navarrete granted "those poverty stricken neighbors" in *Béxar* to trade with the Indians as long as there was no "trading of horses, gunpowder, weapons, or bullets with them" (Navarrete 1760). Due to safety concerns, Governor Navarrete limited these trading expeditions to ten individuals at a time "because as many as sixty had gone out and left the presidio and villa without protection" prior to granting permission. This document reveals that trade between *Béxareño*s and surrounding indigenous groups was common and like trade with the missions, was used to address the needs of "poverty stricken neighbors" likely due to supply shortages.

On the other hand, indigenous individuals also played a prominent role in the household. Campaigns against the Apache and Comanche, but especially the campaigns against the Apache in the early eighteenth century could broadly be defined as "Indian hunts" that in part targeted young men

and women to serve as domestic slaves (Wade 2008: 222). The presidio captains including José and Thoribio Urrutia and Luis Antonio Menchaca often led these campaigns and certainly would have had captives living in their households as domestic servants in the eighteenth century as captives were typically distributed among those who participated in the campaigns. Similarly, according to the archival record, Francisco Cháves and Juana Padrón had two Indian servants living in their house in 1803 while Clemente Delgado owned a mulatto slave named Maria Huísar[40] [sic] as late as 1808, and likely owned domestic slaves at other points in time (Delgado 1808; Gibson 2014b). As such, there was clearly an indigenous presence within the household, and the high proportions of Goliad Ware and lithics in any of the collections is to some degree a reflection of their role in, and contribution to the household economy.

Similarly, the high proportion of Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware ceramics in the 41BX179 assemblage almost certainly suggests that a ceramic tradition established at the missions, or at the very least, a locally-established ceramic tradition, played a significant role in the eighteenth century household. As mentioned in previous chapters, in most cases I chose to refer to all wheel-thrown unglazed coarse earthenware ceramics, or what some analysts refer to as Valero Ware, as Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware. I made this choice because I believe that there is too much variation among the samples to lump them under one single type. James Ivey and Anne Fox first identified this type as a locally made ceramic type during their investigations at Mission Espada's Rancho de las Cabras (41WN30) in 1981 based on the results of Fox's earlier excavations at Mission Valero (41BX6; Ivey personal communication 2016). However, over time Anne Fox changed her opinion on the type and on her 2008 *Guide to Ceramics from Spanish Colonial Sites in Texas* she proposed a limited type description called "Valero Red Painted" and suggested that it was not locally produced because "the

[40] Maria Huísar, the mulatto slave, has no relation to Pedro Huísar.

mission registries of Texas make no mention of the presence of wheels for manufacturing ceramics," and as such, was likely manufactured in Mexico (Fox and Ulrich 2008: 40). Furthermore, despite the identification of a ceramic kiln at Mission Espada in the early 2000s by CAR archaeologists, Fox's influence led analysts to determine that the kiln, and all wheel-thrown vessels dated to a period after secularization because "no mention of wheel-thrown vessels and no mention of a pottery kiln is made in mission inventories" (Cargill et al. 2004: 103).

Fox's final conclusion on the matter stands in direct contrast to Shawn Carlson's study of eighteenth century ceramic assemblages from six missions in Texas and Louisiana. Carlson's study concluded that due to "Spain's deteriorated economy [the missions had] a greater reliance on locally-made and Mexican-made products [over] imported goods" (Carlson 1994: 149). More specifically, Carlson's initial analysis of one San Antonio River valley mission assemblage, Mission San Juan Capistrano, indicated that 57 percent of ceramics were produced in Mexico while 42 percent were locally produced Goliad Ware. However, her Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis (INAA) and petrographic analyses of the assemblage concluded that "some of the lead glaze wares recovered from this site were [also] locally made" (ibid.: 179). Despite numerous references to Anne Fox, Carlson did not identify any of her samples as Valero Ware although she did identify a variety of unglazed sandy paste utility wares (n=588) that she attributed to the "unglazed portions of the other lead-glazed wares" (ibid.: 103). Similarly, Carlson did not clarify which specific lead-glaze specimens were locally-made, and as such, her study does little to prove that Ivey and Fox's Valero Ware or my Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware were locally made. Still, Carlson's conclusions do support the idea that there was a local ceramic tradition in San Antonio beyond Goliad Ware in the eighteenth century.

Carlson's conclusion that some lead-glaze wares were also produced at the missions was not a new idea in 1994. From his 1962 excavations at Mission San Lorenzo in Camp Wood, Texas, Curtis

Tunnell concluded that the sandy-paste lead glaze ware and the wheel-turned coarse earthenware, some of which were red-slipped and decorated (Valero Ware) were likely locally-made or "brought from permanent establishments at San Antonio or one of the settlements south of the Rio Grande" (Tunnell and Newcomb 1969: 80-81; Ivey Personal Communication 2016). Similarly, as a result of her work at Mission San Juan Capistrano, Mardith Schuetz determined that because it was wheel-turned, Valero Ware was likely from Mexico, but some of the lead-glaze ware samples appeared to be hand-made and likely produced at the missions (Schuetz 1969: 52-53; Ivey Personal Communication 2016). Similarly, Schuetz recovered head-pins indicative of a firing method that employs saggers or cylindrical elements used to stack vessels inside of kilns from San Juan as well as from Mission San José and Mission Espada (Bourry 1901: 652; Ivey Personal Communication 2016; Schuetz 1969: 2; 65). Furthermore, as mentioned above, CAR's investigation at Mission Espada recorded a ceramic kiln and recovered both lead-glaze and unglazed wheel-thrown wasters. While it is true that the archival record does not mention pottery wheels or ceramic kilns at the missions, the archaeological evidence instead suggests that Valero Ware, Indeterminate Coarse Earthenware, and/or sandy-paste lead-glaze ware to some degree reflect a local ceramic tradition established at the missions.

Although there are no references in the archival record to ceramic production at the San Antonio missions, in 1783 Fr. Mariano Cardenas noted that at Mission Espiritu Santo de Zúñiga (41GD1) in Goliad County native women were "almost always busy making ollas, bowls, and other things of clay, for which they have great skill and with which they trade with the Spaniards of the Presidio of *La Bahia*" (Tomka et al 2013: 256). As previously referenced, the ceramics recovered from Espíritu Santo were subsequently referred to as Goliad Ware, but these ceramics are a continuation of the prehistoric ceramic technology commonly referred to as Leon Plain Ware which was prevalent across Central Texas including the San Antonio River valley. Moreover, Goliad Ware dominates the eighteenth century San Antonio missions' assemblages. Using Carlson's data presented above, 42 percent of the San Juan

assemblage is comprised of Goliad Ware while the remaining 58 percent of the assemblage is made up of various types produced in Mexico, Chinese porcelain and English wares which together comprise less than two percent of the total assemblage (Carlson 1994: 179). Similarly, Anne Fox estimated that in all her work at the San Antonio missions, Goliad Ware made up approximately 75 percent of the mission ceramic assemblages (Fox 1989: 264). So, while the archival record does not reference a ceramic industry at the San Antonio missions, it does specifically mention that the ceramics produced at Mission Espiritu Santo were traded locally and as such were not likely the primary source of Goliad Ware ceramics for the San Antonio missions. Similarly, the results of a INAA and petrographic study of Goliad Ware samples from four San Antonio Missions (Concepción, San José, San Juan, and Espada) by UTSA-CAR determined that although some of the samples belonged to a "coastal group," the majority of the samples belonged to "three likely local groups" that "may represent distinct technological traditions" of the San Antonio River valley that consisted of "potters who were familiar with the characteristics of the locally available clays" (Tomka et al. 2013: 262). Despite the lack of archival evidence of a ceramic tradition at the San Antonio missions, CAR's results along with the general ubiquity of Goliad Ware at the missions indicate that like Mission Espiritu Santo, indigenous potters at the San Antonio River valley missions also continued to produce bone-tempered ceramics for their own needs and likely as trade goods.

Accordingly, while it is possible and likely that some of the Goliad Ware in the case study collections presented in this investigation are a result of trade with non-missionized indigenous groups or the product of indigenous individuals in households. The missions surely provided the community with a reliable source of bone-tempered ceramics and the associated vessels forms that were centuries-old, proven commodities for the South Central Texas landscape. Although the Goliad Ware samples from the case study collections are too small to determine vessel types beyond generally globular vessels that may represent bowls, jars, and ollas, there is some evidence of European-inspired forms

from mission sites in Texas including Mission Espirtu Santo and the San Antonio Missions. The samples recovered from the San Antonio River valley missions include three lipped rim sherds and a base with a foot ring from Mission San Juan and two flat sherd fragments identified as ceramic *comales* recovered from Mission Espada's Rancho de las Cabras (Ulrich 2004: 83-84; Ivey and Fox 1981: 31). Analysts in the past have typically recognized this phenomenon of mission Indians adopting European forms as evidence of acculturation (Ivey and Fox 1981). It is equally likely that the missions Indians were meeting the demands of the community by producing the types of vessels the community requested.

Nevertheless, the overall majority of Goliad Ware vessel types represented at the case study sites and the missions are the typical bowls, jars, and ollas that were also produced prehistorically. This evidence indicates a continuation of prehistoric technological traditions at the missions, but also suggests that there was a demand for such vessels within the community. The evidence from the case study sites indicates that Goliad Ware comprised a significant proportion of household ceramics in the early to mid-eighteenth century, and although these proportions decreased in the nineteenth century, the subsequent assemblages also contain sizable proportions of locally-produced bone tempered wares and the vessels likely remained an important part of daily life. The eighteenth century community was comprised of families and individuals with disparate backgrounds and perceptions of self-identity, and the shared material conditions of supply shortages and the adoption of indigenous goods in the household likely helped to create a sense of commonality and community. The evidence suggests that these practices endured and persisted despite increased access to supplies indicating that the practices represented by Goliad Ware, coarse earthenware, and lithic technologies were important to *Béxareño*s and likely contributed to their self-identification.

On a similar theme, as suggested before, the missions dominated the corn and beef markets in the region during the early to mid-eighteenth century and supplied the villa and presidio both directly and

indirectly by selling their surpluses to the presidio store and by being the victims of *Béxareño*s' cattle raids. More importantly, the missions played a vital role in the development of the region's cattle economy during this period, and in doing so, the missions contributed to the material practices that came to define the community. Accordingly, a defining characteristic of the case study assemblages, beginning with the Spanish Governor's Palace assemblage, is the abundance of cattle remains in the faunal assemblages. Faunal remains identified as cattle comprise an average of 28.65 percent of the eighteenth century identified specimen assemblages at the Spanish Governor's Palace, 24.9 percent of the identified sample from the Delgado Cistern assemblage and 42.1 percent of the identified sample from the Padrón-Cháves midden assemblage. These data indicate a relatively stable reliance on cattle during the eighteenth century and an increase in cattle consumption in the nineteenth century, a trend that is mirrored by an overall increase in large mammal remains across the respective assemblages.

Although the proportions of cattle within the Spanish Governor's Palace assemblages are very similar to those in the Delgado Cistern assemblage, the assemblages actually represent two very different periods in the development of the region's cattle economy. Eighteenth century ranching practices in *Béxar* entailed methods of open-range ranching that meant managing large, semi-wild herds of stock through round ups and branding. These methods and practices changed very little over the course of the century despite a major shift from a mission ranching monopoly in the early and mid- eighteenth century to a private ranching industry dominated by prominent *Béxareño* families in the mid to late eighteenth century. By the end of the eighteenth century the missions were secularized and their ranching assets were primarily in the hands of the same few families that established the original private ranches in the region.

Historians widely recognize the end of the Apache war in 1750 as the beginning of private ranching in the region and credit the presidial settlers and their experiences in Indian hunts as the originators of

open-range ranching practices in the region (Bolton 1915: 31; Kilgore 1983: 112; Myres 1969: 26; Jackson 1986: 67; 77). However, although Andrés Hernández's Rancho San Bartolomé probably predates 1750, the first record mentioning a private ranch in the region dates to the 1758 court case that established Luis Antonio Menchaca's Rancho San Francisco while Juan Jose Flores was issued the first brand in *Béxar* on July 1, 1762, indicating that secular ranching was just beginning to be established in the 1760s (Jackson 1986: 67; 87).

This is important because by the time private ranchers were acquainting themselves with the industry, the missions' ranches were operating at their peak. Livestock were an essential component to the survival of the missions and in the initial years of their establishment each of the missions struggled to establish their ranches. Like the presidio and the villa, the missions also had to deal the threat of the Apache before 1750, but also had to manage epidemics, attrition, and other conditions that were unique to the missions. For example, due to a host of variables Mission Espada had to obtain its cattle from the Queretaran missions on the Rio Grande from 1731 to 1737 (Habig 1968: 202, 204). However, this practice ended after 1737, and in 1745, Mission Espada inventoried 1150 cattle, 740 sheep, 90 goats, 31 horses, and 32 oxen (Ivey 1983: 24). By the time Juan Jose Flores received the first brand among private ranchers, Mission Espada's expansive Rancho de las Cabras had 1272 cattle, 4000 sheep and goats, and 156 horses (Dolores 1961: 259). The other missions in the region experienced similar success in ranching during this period indicating that a productive ranching industry was widely established in the region almost twenty years before private ranchers began to enter the business.

Béxareños were obviously aware of this fact, and beginning in the 1740s they began to aggressively petition for mission labor and the missions' ranch lands (Castañeda 1938: 3:103-104). The 1756 petition presented before was a continuation of this effort, and as I indicated, that 1756 document best summarizes the petitioners' perception of the ranching industry at that point and shows they

conflated the resources, cattle and ranch lands, with mission vaquero labor. At a point when *Béxareños* were considering the possibility of finally establishing their own ranching industry in the region, they were also aware they were soldiers and farmers and had no experience in the field. The mission vaqueros on the other hand had generational knowledge of resource management of the south central Texas landscape. The ranching practices these vaqueros established were based on tracking large herds across a broad landscape, seasonal round ups (usually in October and November), and slaughtering practices that harvested protein, tallow, fat and hides for their community. Like the production of Goliad Ware and lithic tools, these practices are analogous to the centuries-old practices of indigenous bison hunting and have little to do with Spanish Indian hunting. Accordingly, while it is unclear if the archaeological evidence of cattle remains in the Spanish Governor's assemblage is direct evidence of the missions supplying the presidio, the fact that beef was a significant part of *Béxareños'* diets in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was a direct result of practices established by mission vaqueros.

This phenomenon should not be understated as these practices likely extended into the household. There is clear evidence of domestic butchering at all three case study sites indicating that influences may have extended to food preparation and consumption. On a much more general level, by the nineteenth century, *Béxar's* cattle economy came to define the community's identity, an identity that was built on practices mission vaqueros established. While I consider the mission vaquero influence to be significant, I do not want to suggest that *Béxareños* were passive adopters of these practices, but rather that ranching practices in *Béxar* were the result of a synthesis of the specific historical, institutional, social, and environmental conditions of the region in which the missions played a significant role. In the same way that lithic technologies and indigenous vessel forms were accepted and used in households and had shaped how *Béxareño*s perceived of themselves, *Béxareño*s, with their diverse backgrounds, incorporated locally established ranching traditions, technologies and practices to establish of a distinct regional identity.

Trade, Contraband and the Frontier Market

The establishment of the *Béxar's* cattle economy serves as a convenient transition into a discussion about another significant facet of the frontier economy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As suggested previously, imported goods became more prevalent in households during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries despite the persistence of many of the factors that limited supplies and created a reliance on locally produced goods and technologies earlier in the century. The community remained relatively isolated, supply routes from Mexico did not improve, the Comanche were arguably more dangerous than the Apache ever were, and trade regulations actually increased during this period. Due to many of these factors in combination with the expansion of competing world markets in the region, as well as *Béxareño*s' desire to expand their local cattle economy and bring commerce to the frontier, a contraband market developed in Texas during the eighteenth century that established the foundation for an even more robust import economy associated with the American colonization of Texas during the Mexican period.

The following sections provide a contextual summary of the development and evolution of the illicit trade market in Texas, Louisiana, and *Béxar* as well as the results of an investigation of the Bexar Archives that identifies the nature and intensity of the contraband market over time and assesses the types of items that composed the trade. To gain insight into the illicit market and frontier trade networks that were integral to shaping *Tejano* identity I conducted a keyword search of the Bexar Archives index for the words contraband, smuggling, and illicit trade. While a survey of the Bexar Archives alone does not provide a complete overview of how illicit trade networks existed in Texas during the Colonial and Mexican periods, they do provide an adequate sample that is relevant to my case studies and the greater frontier region in general. Once I identified these entries in the index I went to the original records and searched for inventories of contraband goods or cases in which

contraband goods were identified through correspondence and located 12 inventories of seized contraband goods from 1754 through 1834.

The results of my investigation of the contraband records in the Bexar Archives in general suggest that illicit trade was pervasive in the region throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but increased significantly around the turn of the century as a wider variety of individuals became involved. Concomitantly, the overall data suggest that despite major political changes during the period, East Texas served as the primary entry point for contraband goods throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries until the Mexican period when American and European colonists and goods began to arrive *en masse* at Texas ports. Most important, this investigation reveals that the majority of illicit goods documented in the archives are everyday items, primarily textiles and clothes, but also tobacco, foodstuffs, ceramics, tools and other essential items that were smuggled into Texas to meet the needs of frontier communities.

In many ways the conditions that led to the Texas War of Independence were tied to the development of the frontier market in Texas, which had its roots in the eighteenth century illicit trade market. The contraband trade specifically fostered relationships between *Tejanos*, foreigners, and indigenous groups that were influential in shaping the frontier identity most often associated with *Tejanos*. While authors have cited the contraband market as a crucial component to *Tejano* identity, very few have actually examined the concrete goods that composed this market and the role those material items played in identity formation. As the evidence from Chapters Six and Seven suggests, late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries' archaeological assemblages from sites across *Béxar* are full of imported items, most notably English Ceramics. Concomitantly, the archival record depicts a very active contraband trade in eighteenth and nineteenth century Texas that was significant at local, regional, and global scales. I argue that *Tejano* trade relationships and economic activities were

significant in forming their frontier identity, but the mundane goods from these markets influenced existing practices and introduced new ones that were central to processes that redefined *Tejano* identity.

Contraband in Context

The Louisiana- East Texas contraband trade market was established shortly after settlement of East Texas in the early eighteenth century when Spanish authorities authorized settlers at *Los Adaes* to trade for grain with French traders at Natchitoches because of poor harvests and supply shipment delays (Galan 2008: 203). This legal trade soon became a cover for a much more active contraband market that supplied the settlement with a variety of goods through an elaborate trade network where Spanish settlers served as middlemen to provide French traders with deerskins and bison hides among other raw materials from Caddoan speaking groups in exchange for French manufactured goods that included cloth, guns, tools, wine, and tobacco (ibid.: 204). Spanish Governors at *Los Adaes* were also active participants in, and profited from this contraband trade both locally and abroad. Evidence from the early 1730s through the 1750s suggests that governors utilized Spanish officers and troops to carry out illicit trade and transport contraband goods in East Texas, as well as provided Adaeseños with unauthorized permission to sell contraband goods in the interior provinces including *Béxar* and as far away as Saltillo. This Governor-sponsored illicit trade culminated in what has been called the "golden age of Spanish smuggling on the Texas-Louisiana frontier" during the 1750s, evidence of which made its way to colonial officials, and in part prompted the 1767 inspection of the East Texas presidio by Marqués de Rubí that eventually led to the order to abandon *Los Adaes* 1772 and relocate the Adaeseños to *Béxar* in 1773 (ibid.: 208).

While illicit trade played a role in the abandonment of *Los Adaes*, the reorganization of Texas in the 1770s was, on a larger scale, a result of France's cession of its possessions west of the Mississippi River to Spain in 1762. Concomitantly, the end of the Seven Years War in 1763 resulted in major

changes in colonial power structures throughout the New World in general, and along the Gulf of Mexico in specific. Great Britain acquired Spanish Florida and a greater presence in the Gulf of Mexico while Spain acquired French Louisiana including the city and port of New Orleans. Spain was slow to occupy Louisiana, and the region remained dominated by a French population with well-established trade relationships with foreign entities, most notably with British shipping merchants and encroaching Anglo-American populations in the Mississippi Valley (Woodward 2003: 145). Britain supplied the region with flour and other foodstuffs through authorized trade meant to relieve temporary food shortages, but also pursued merchant capitalism in Louisiana and the Gulf Coast by importing contraband goods in mass quantities (ibid: 145). Spanish officials attempted to undermine these foreign trade relationships and quell English and American expansion through trade reform in 1774 that authorized free trade among Spanish colonies, but continued to forbid foreign trade in Spain's New World colonies (ibid.: 147).

Despite Spain's acquisition of Louisiana, massive trade reform, and numerous requests, free trade between Texas and Louisiana remained prohibited after 1762 (Haggard 1942: 150). Although many in Texas saw Louisiana as the opportunity to realize the region's economic potential, the decision to not open trade between the two regions was based primarily on livestock shortages in Coahuila and Nueva Santander that forced the provinces to rely on Texas to supply New Spain with cattle, Texas' only viable export. Similarly, the colonial administration perceived open trade between Louisiana and Texas as a threat to established commerce between Mexico City and San Luis and Saltillo, where merchandise and especially cheaper tobacco from Louisiana would easily replace the demand for goods from Mexico City (ibid.: 154). Ironically, the continuation of trade restrictions after 1762 actually reinforced established trade relationships between Texas and Louisiana. Only a year after being sent to San Antonio, a large group of Adaeseños under the leadership of Antonio Gil Ybarbo petitioned to resettle East Texas. The request was granted under the condition that the settlement would be at Paso Tomás

on the Trinity River, the halfway point between *Béxar* and recently acquired Spanish Natchitoches. The decision to establish the settlement of Bucareli on the Trinity River was an effort to increase communication with recently acquired Spanish Louisiana, prevent English intrusion, and stop contraband trade. However, the settlement of Bucareli in 1774 and subsequently that of Nacogdoches in 1779, reinvigorated the trade networks established at *Los Adaes*, and as British and American presence increased in Louisiana and along the Gulf Coast, these illicit trade networks expanded and thrust Texas further into an international market.

Spanish support of the United States during the American Revolution extended the Anglo-American Atlantic Coast trade network into the lower Mississippi and American merchants replaced the British in New Orleans and along the Gulf Coast as the major foreign presence until the Treaty of Paris in 1783 (Woodward 2003: 151). Spanish free trade reform coincided with the American Revolution and opened Spanish colonial ports to trans-Atlantic trade and the French West Indies. Despite closing its ports to the United States after 1783, these reforms increased opportunities for legal trade in the Gulf of Mexico, especially out of the port of New Orleans (Salvucci 1984: 127). However, the onset of the Anglo-Spanish War in 1796 resulted in the British blockage of Spanish ports in Europe, which impaired supply shipments from Spain to the New World colonies and continued trade restrictions with Great Britain. As a result, the conditions in the Gulf of Mexico in the late eighteenth century were impossible to control, and because Spanish colonies continued to experience shortages, Texas had no legal port, and taxes and duties on legally imported goods were significantly higher, thus contraband markets continued to be a major force in Texas during the late eighteenth century.

The Louisiana Purchase by the United States in 1803 resulted in absolute trade restrictions between Spanish Texas and Louisiana. However, the United States and Spain were unable to agree on boundary between Louisiana and Texas, and to avoid conflict, and in 1806 the two entities entered into

an agreement that declared the disputed territory as Neutral Ground, roughly defined by the Arroyo Hondo on the east and the Sabine River on the west (Haggard 1942: 64). Although Spanish citizens and American settlers were forbidden from occupying the Neutral Ground unsurprisingly settlers from both nations immediately moved into the area, and the territory became a haven for legal and illicit commerce between Texas and Louisiana. Most notable was the House of Barr and Davenport, a firm contracted by Spain to engage in trade with, and provide gifts to the indigenous groups of East Texas and West Louisiana in the attempt to garner Spanish favor and create an "Indian barrier" between Spanish Texas and the American West (ibid.: 181).

Similarly, disorder persisted in the Gulf of Mexico during this period as revolution in Europe and colonial disputes in the New World created conditions for privateering and pirating to thrive (Ford et al. 2010: 76). The nearly decade-old Anglo-Spanish War in Europe shifted to the Peninsular War in 1808 and former enemies, Spanish and England, found themselves as allies in a revolution against Napoleon's empire. By this point, Spain's economy was destroyed by the burden of war and supplies from the Old World to the New World were extremely limited. The illegal importation of trade goods along the coast increased as New Orleans continued to grow as a major export harbour for raw materials and bulk foodstuffs coming from the Mississippi River Valley and the Gulf Coast region. As such, the early nineteenth century witnessed a major increase in small vessel trade along the Gulf Coast and the establishment of small ports in the region including Lake Charles, Louisiana in 1803, the minor port at San Bernardo[41] in 1805, and the rebel port at Galveston, Texas established by French pirate Louis-Michel Aury in 1816 (Ford et al. 2010: 78).

[41] A minor Port at the Bay of San Bernardo, present day Matagorda Bay was opened in 1805, but was not open to foreign ports (Haggard 1942: 157)

In response to this American encroachment in Spanish Texas, colonial officials implemented policies to increase populations on the frontier in an attempt to establish *Béxar* as a buffer zone between the Americans in Louisiana and the silver mines in Northern Mexico. Few people willingly moved north to San Antonio, but numerous soldiers and militiamen were ordered to move to the frontier with their families. This population surge in *Béxar* during the early nineteenth century in addition to encroaching Anglo-American populations to the east, provided opportunities for *Béxareños* to participate in both legal and illicit trade. A larger military presence provided an expanded market for local ranchers and farmers to sell their meat and grain, while trade networks that included Anglo-Americans, indigenous groups, and other *Tejanos* to the north and east provided the community with a wide variety of essential and luxury goods in exchange for hides and stolen livestock, especially horses (Ramos 2008: 22). Illicit trade intensified greatly with the United States in the years leading up to the Mexican War of Independence as Americans began to push for entry into Texas. Growing American populations along a porous eastern border fueled a market for horses that led to the establishment of trade networks between Anglo-Americans and the Comanche and other *Norteño* groups.

Early nineteenth century trade activity along the Louisiana-East Texas border between Anglo-Americans and indigenous groups dealt primarily in the exchange of everyday goods for horses, but as revolution began in Mexico, Americans began to trade more arms and ammunition to the indigenous groups that in turn began to rely on raiding communities like *Béxar* to keep pace with Anglo-American demand for horses (Anderson 1999: 253). Contraband trade networks were critical to the revolution as American ports remained opened to rebels and provided them with arms, ammunition, and supplies (Lewis 1998: 80). Similarly, American filibuster campaigns, including the 1813 Gutierrez-Magee Expedition, were often launched from illicit trade centers in East Texas where established trade networks helped to organize indigenous groups, *Tejanos*, and Americans along common capitalist goals.

Béxar suffered from a major population decrease and an extreme period of poverty after the revolution in 1813 as many *Béxar*eño insurgents were either executed, imprisoned, deported, or able to flee to the north amongst indigenous groups or to the east along the border (Ramos 2008: 44; 55). Royalist control of the city and Joaquín de Arredondo's campaigns to clear the province of rebels resulted in a militarized frontier with significant supply shortages due to decreased production, looting, and increased military population (ibid.: 48). Contraband activity decreased accordingly during this period, but the same conditions that drove poverty in *Béxar* directly after the revolution also resulted in a frontier of lawlessness and disorder where contraband activity most likely had a significant role in supplying poverty stricken communities with essential goods (Anderson 1999: 254). Similarly, poor conditions across the frontier during the period before independence provided the settings for filibustering campaigns by Anglo-Americans such as James Long and Henry Perry in addition to French mercenaries attempts to settle Texas along the Trinity River (Ramos 2008: 48).

Nine merchants lived in *Béxar* in 1820, indicating that the community may have recovered from post-revolution conditions, but that it was still not a commercial center just before independence (de la Teja and Wheat 1985: 28). Trade laws under the Mexican flag were very similar to those of their Spanish predecessors, and in most cases foreign trade was restricted or strictly regulated. Direct foreign trade with communities on the frontier was still forbidden, and because Mexico tried to maintain national monopolies over certain goods, many foreign goods like tobacco were still considered contraband (ibid.: 29). The Mexican government officially opened the port of Galveston in 1825, but restricted all imports into Texas to this single port and required passports and customs permits for traveling and transport (ibid.: 29). On the other hand, Mexico's colonization laws promoted foreign immigration and initiated an influx of Anglo-Americans into Texas. These colonization laws were aimed at expanding the frontier economy, and the Anglo-American southerners to the east provided the ideal colonists to bring agricultural and industrial development to Texas. Furthermore, *Tejanos*, who were already familiar with

American traders, recognized the opportunity these immigrants could bring in the form of establishing Texas as the center of a larger exchange network between Mexico and the United States, from which *Tejanos* could benefit greatly as brokers (Ramos 2008: 88). In this sense, the economic potential of the frontier was directly tied to Anglo-American colonization, and *Tejanos* supported this development through encouraging colonization, lobbying for the re- opening of Port San Bernardo at Matagorda Bay, and pushing trade deregulation (de la Teja and Wheat 1985: 30).

Tejanos were successful in these endeavors, and the rise in the immigrant population, opened ports, and import duty exemptions bolstered legal commerce in the region, but also increased illicit trade in Texas to all-time highs (ibid.: 29). *Tejano* elites were the prime beneficiaries of this increase in legal and illegal commerce during the Mexican period, as individuals like Erasmo Seguin and José Antonio Navarro used their established social and political positions to support colonization and the empresario system while also pursuing economic interests with the colonists. Illicit trade thrived during colonization as contraband goods arrived under the guise of the introduction of Anglo-American colonists at Texas' ports. Mexican officials recognized that *Tejanos* and colonists were engaging in illicit trade and closed Port San Bernardo in 1827, making Galveston the only legal port in Texas. *Tejanos*, and *Béxar*eños specifically ignored this decree and continued to illegally import and export goods through Matagorda until they were able to influence Congress to change the law, reopen San Bernardo and establish a customs house at *La Bahia* in 1828 (ibid: 31).

Smuggling and illegal trade were among numerous concerns of Anglo-American colonization recognized by Manuel de Mier y Terán during his inspection of Texas in 1828, and his subsequent report influenced Mexican officials to write legislation to prevent perceived American Imperialism. The resultant Colonization Law of April 6, 1830 did just that through policies that prohibited American immigration into Texas, ended the importation of slaves, suspended and restricted empresario

contracts, and imposed new policies on trade including excessive tariffs on U.S. goods. The Colonization Law of 1830 also opened coastal trade to foreigners for four years, authorized funds to bring Mexican and European colonists to Texas and increased the military's presence on the frontier. The law created distrust between Anglo-American colonists and the Mexican government, conditions that directly led to the Texas War of Independence five years later. However, the law also bolstered Great Britain's presence on the Texas coast as it opened its ports to foreign trade in conjunction with the expansion England's commercial interests in Mexico (Nzibo 1979: 59).

For *Béxar*eños however, the Colonization Law of 1830 hindered commerce by restricting trade with the U.S., and by extension, Anglo-American colonists. This of course did not stop trade and commerce with the U.S., but instead reinvigorated the contraband market as goods and people continued to illegally enter Texas from the United States. *Béxar*eños recognized the law and the fall out as detrimental to the development of Texas and voiced those complaints in the Bexar Memorial of 1832 and requested greater economic autonomy and the extension of duty exemptions (de la Teja and Wheat 1985: 34). However, tensions between Anglo-American colonists and the Mexican Government mounted throughout the early 1830s and the Texas War of Independence began in 1835, severely disrupting commerce in Texas.

Illicit Trade across Time

As suggested above, illicit trade was a major concern in Texas during the colonial and Mexican periods and a search of the *Béxar* Archives index recorded 554 entries referring to some kind of contraband, smuggling, or illicit trade between 1751 and 1835 (Figure 8-1). As Figure 8-1 depicts, a combined 37 entries or almost 7 percent of all entries date to the period between 1750 and 1800 while the greatest number of records referring to contraband activity in the *Béxar* Archives index date to the first decade of the nineteenth century with 157 entries or 28 percent of all records from the period. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the great majority of those entries (n=129) occur after the Louisiana Purchase in

April of 1803. Entries decrease to 108 or 19.5 percent of all entries during the following decade, which is likely a result of an increased military presence during revolutionary periods because documents mentioning instances of contraband trade rise to pre-revolution type frequencies with 121 documents or nearly 22 percent of all records in the 1820s and 130 or 23.5 percent of all records in the 1830s but those records covered only the period until 1835.

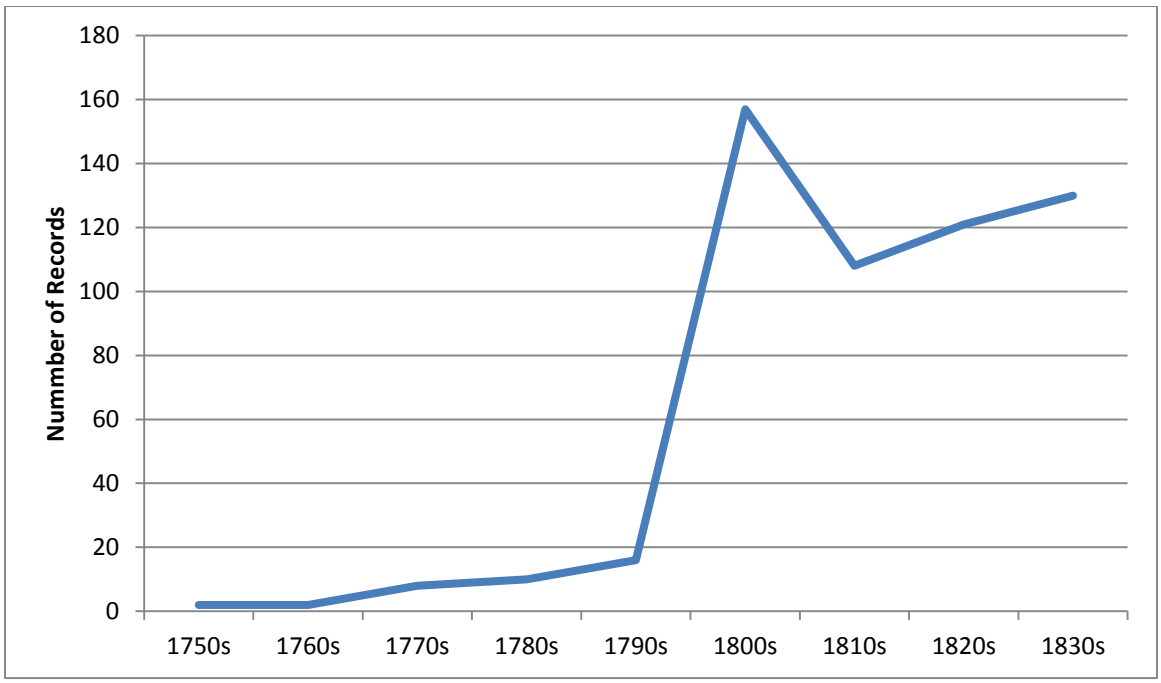

Figure 8-1: Records Referring to Illicit Trade by Decade

A closer examination of the index entries reveals that documents related to arrests and court cases involving contraband are the most common type of record in the decades beginning in the 1760s through the 1810s, peaking in the first decade of the 1800s with 72 records or 46 percent of all records from that decade (Figure 8-1). Many of these records are related to specific court cases in which individuals are charged with bringing contraband into the region, but the majority of these records are reports stating that individuals were arrested and charged with possessing illicit goods. Many of these case records are extremely informative and provide testimonies that document the intricacies of the contraband market and often include inventories of seized goods that are occasionally accompanied by

valuations. Royal decrees, governmental policy and administrative appointments comprise the second most frequent type of record found from the 1760s through the 1810s, and even surpass arrests and court cases during the 1820s with 52 documents or 43 percent of all records during that decade. These records are diverse in nature, but are important because they reveal changes in policy over time as well as highlighting instances where policies were not successful. The frequencies for these types of records are somewhat inflated because they are often accompanied by an official receipt and were commonly forwarded from one community to another. Documents concerning investigations into contraband activities are the third most common type of document found in the archive index with an average of 22.75 entries per year from 1800 to 1835. Documents relating to investigations tend to be vague, but they often provide important clues about the areas where illicit trade was most active during specific periods of time. Finally, records referring to auctions, sales, the redistribution of contraband goods or the proceeds from the sale of contraband goods make up the least common type of illicit trade related document combining to make up almost eight percent of all documents. Many of these auction/sale records include inventories and valuations of the goods sold, but in most cases they only document the total value of the goods sold.

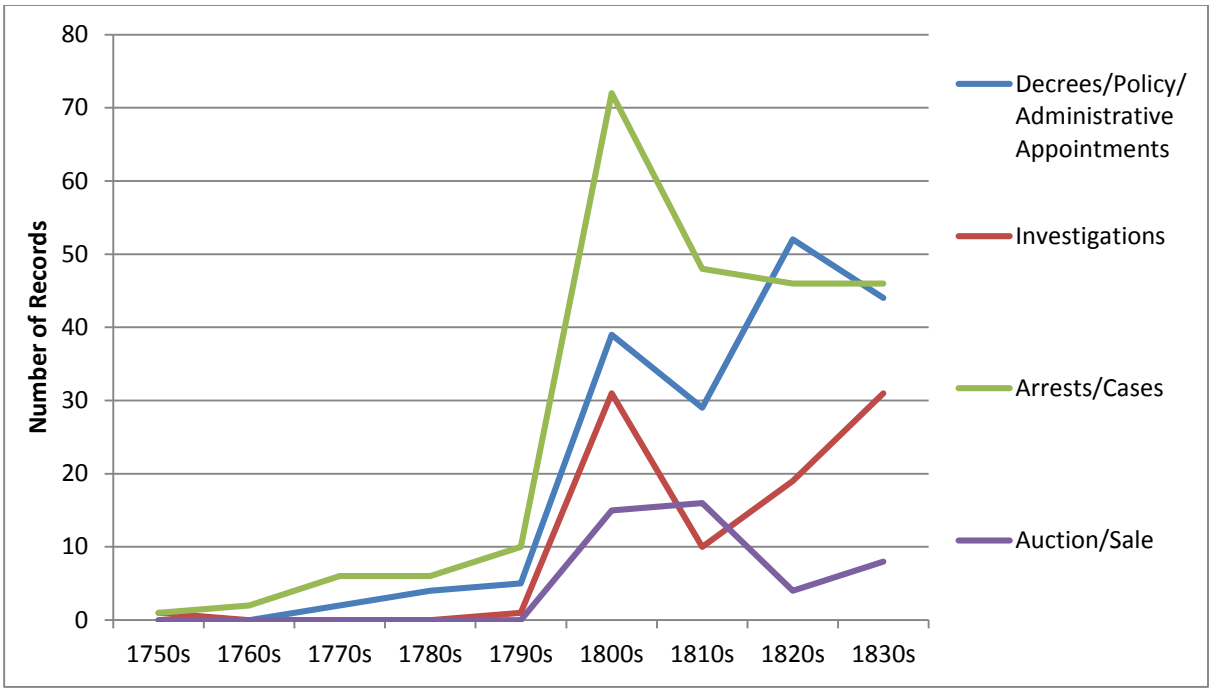

Figure 8-2: Type of Illicit Trade Record by Decade

Figure 8-2 details the various types of contraband identified in the *Béxar* Archives index. Over fifty-one percent (n=286; 51.6 percent) of the index entries referred only to contraband activities and illicit traders and failed to document any type of specific goods. Of the thirty-seven index entries that refer to contraband activities before 1800, twenty-three listed a specific type of contraband. Eleven of these twenty-three records listed tobacco, ten referred to "contraband goods," one listed unspecified stock, and another index entry listed money as a contraband item. Just as index entries referring to contraband activities in general rise dramatically after 1800, so do entries referring to specific illicit items. In the first decade of the nineteenth century twenty-seven index entries listed goods, twenty - four listed stock, one listed tobacco, and another mentioned illicit goods that arrived by ship. Unspecified goods (n=22) and stock (n=12) decreased in the next decade following the general decrease in contraband records during the period. However, records mentioning tobacco (n= 12), goods arriving by ship (n=8), and guns (n=2) increased in frequency, possibly representing revolution-era gun running and coastal trade. Records referring to tobacco as contraband increased dramatically during the 1820s

(n= 37) and 30s (n=38), as Mexican laws had a special emphasis on tobacco in an effort to establish a national monopoly. Illicit goods arriving by ship (n=11) also increased after Mexican independence in 1821 correlating with the official openings of ports in Texas, a trend that appears to have continued in the 1830s with eight documents referring to coastal trade from 1830 to 1835. The index data also reveals increases in general contraband goods during the Mexican Period with twenty-six records in the 1820s and twenty-nine in the 1830s. Illicit trade in stock continued to decrease after 1820 with only four documents during that decade and zero records referring to stock in the 1830s. Similarly, no records referring to guns as contraband appear in the archive index after the revolution-era during the 1820s or 30s. Finally, two records referring to money as contraband appear in the 1830s, but both records are referring to the same investigation of illicit trade activity in Cuatro Ciénegas, Coahuila (Letona 1831; Salinas 1831).

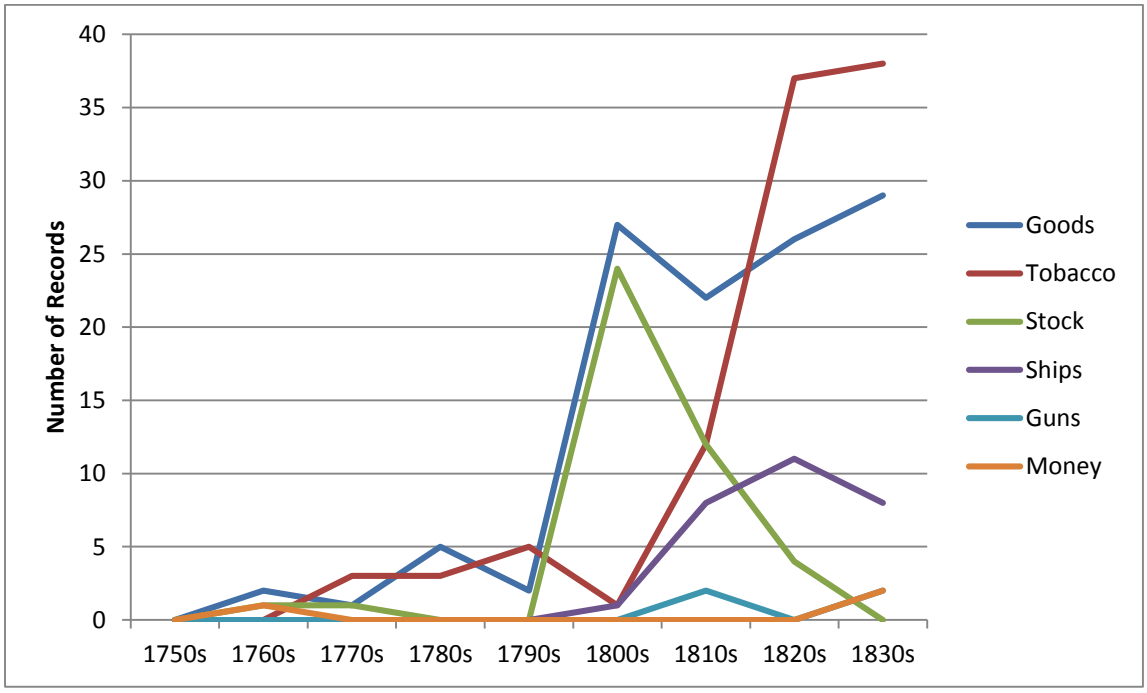

Figure 8-3: Type of Contraband Goods by Decade

The Goods

As Figure 8-3 above indicates, unspecified goods (n=114) and unspecified goods arriving on ships (n=28) comprise a total of 53.2 percent of all index entries mentioning contraband items while records

listing tobacco (n=99) as the primary illicit trade good comprise another 37 percent of all records. These data indicate that goods and tobacco make up the vast majority of all illicit trade items in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Texas. In an effort to clarify what types of goods actually made up the majority of all illicit trade items I identified twelve inventories of seized contraband goods in the archival record. Comparisons of these records in a way mirror the data above, and for the first part of the eighteenth century the contraband market was based out of East Texas and centered around relationships between French traders from Natchitoches and Spanish officials at *Los Adaes*. Due largely to American encroachment, a shift in the contraband market occurred in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that opened the market to a wider variety of traders and consumers, although East Texas remained the entry point for goods smuggled over land into communities across Texas. The records indicated a third shift in the contraband market associated with the Mexican Era when American and European colonists and legal and illicit goods began to arrive *en masse* at Texas ports.

The inventory data also reveal that most of the illegal trade goods were everyday household and domestic goods like textiles, clothes, tobacco, soap, razors, bulk foodstuffs, and ceramics. These data suggest that, like the mission-produced items in the eighteenth century, illicit trade increasingly fulfilled supply shortages for frontier communities in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. More important, as the mundane goods of everyday life, illicit trade goods served as the foundations for daily practices, and as the import market and its goods changed over time, it is likely that practices also changed. The following sections examine eleven inventories of seized illicit goods dating to a period between 1755 and 1826 and outline many of these points, but also reveal that contraband goods were likely much more prevalent than the archaeological record indicates. While the imported trade items found in the archaeological record are primarily ceramics, the items found in the inventories are predominantly perishable items like textiles, clothes, and foodstuffs suggesting that the archaeological record may underestimate the significance of illicit and import goods in subject formation.

The earliest inventories of illicit goods in the Bexar Archives are associated with goods seized in East Texas from a French trader, a mission friar, and the governor. The French trader, Joseph Blancpain owned a mercantile in Natchitoches, Louisiana, but was arrested in 1754 for establishing a trading post at the mouth of the Trinity River and trading with the Atacapas [sic] Nation as well as the Orcoquiza and Bidais Indians (Blancpain 1755). According to Blancpain's testimony he brought 6,000 pesos worth of merchandise to trade in the region under a license from the governor of Louisiana and had been "trading with [the Atacapas] for twenty-five years" and he "believed he was in the dominions of the King of France" (ibid.). However, the Spanish believed that Blancpain was an agent of the French government who was trading weapons to the Orcoquiza and Bidais. Blancpain ultimately died in prison in Mexico City in 1756, and the Spanish were likely right about his intentions, because according to the inventory, he was caught with twenty-four French muskets, six English muskets, four Dutch muskets, three superior muskets, six pairs of ordinary pistols, one pair of fine pistols, and a pair of pocket pistols as well as four and a half *quintales* (450 kilos) of gunpowder, 1000 pounds of lead shot, 200 pounds of ammunition, and 10,000 gunflints (Blancpain 1755). Furthermore, at the time of his arrest, Blancpain had been trading in the area for over two months and actually testified that the goods in the inventory were only a fourth of the actual goods he was arrested with indicating that originally he had brought more firearms to trade with the indigenous groups of the region.

Although Blancpain was clearly supplying indigenous groups with firearms, a review of the inventory reveals that firearms were one of many trade items he brought to the region. In total Blancpain's inventory lists 131 different types of merchandise including twenty seven types of tools ranging from awls (n=144) to iron sickles (n=48), nineteen types of bulk foodstuffs including 500 pounds of salt and a barrel and a cask of aguardiente, as well as typical Indian trade goods like tobacco (n=500 pounds), glass trade beads (n=100 pounds of assorted trade beads), mirrors (n=144), metal rings (n=288), copper (n=576) and bronze (n=144) bells and various pigments (n= 125 pounds). The inventory

also includes a number of items that may have been goods that Blancpain imported with the intention of trading with settlers in the region including a large assortment of European textiles and European-style clothing, domestic goods like iron kettles (n=50), tin spoons (n=48), tin platters and plates, porcelain jars (n=6), and crystal glasses, personal goods like paper (n=4 reams), wooden-handled (n=500) and horn-handled (n=200) razors, combs (n=144), and inlaid buttons (n=288).

Similarly, in 1766 Fr. Francisco Zedano, "the father conductor of the mission of Texas"and six other men including a prominent *Adaeseño*, Agustín Rodriguez[42] were caught smuggling goods from *Los Adaes* along the Camino Real on the Lower Trinity River between *Los Adaes* and *La Bahia* at a place called "El Durasno" and near the home of a Bidai Indian named Thomas (Zedano 1766). The men were purportedly recruiting Indians from Mission *La Bahia* with permission from Governor Angel de Martos y Navarrete, and in total Fr. Zedano and his associates were caught with seven mules packed with 823 pesos worth of tobacco and goods. Although Navarrete denied any involvement, Fr. Zedano and his associates may have actually been recruiting indigenous people to the mission, and like Blancpain's inventory, their inventory includes typical Indian trade goods like tobacco (n= 299 bundles), white trade beads (n=3 bundles), metal rings (n=456), and a small barrel of aguardiente. However, the majority of the inventory is comprised of twelve different types of European textiles like crimson velvet, Brittany linens, and various calicos, indicating the possibility that the men may have been bringing goods to trade at the Presidio at *La Bahia*.

The next inventory from 1767 also involves Governor Angel de Martos y Navarrete. In this case the inventory appears in an investigation into Navarrete's illicit trade activities based on reports that he was in possession of 500 gold doubloons totaling 8,000 pesos to pay French traders at San Juan Baptista de Nachitos for goods purchased for the Presidio (Navarrete 1767). These doubloons were reportedly

[42] Agustín Rodriguez led a petition effort in 1778 on behalf of the *Adaeseños* asking for irrigated land after they were relocated to *Béxar* in 1773 (Galan 2008: 43).

among boxes of merchandise in the presidio store, and as a result, all of the goods were confiscated and inventoried. In total, officials confiscated 109 boxes and packages containing hundreds of goods that included Spanish goods, domestic goods and foreign items from France, England, and China. There were so many items that it took Captain Luis Antonio Menchaca four days to inventory the embargoed goods, and as such, the inventory lists over 250 different types of goods that Navarrete allegedly intended on selling to the residents of the presidio at inflated prices (Blake 2016). Like Fr. Zedano's illicit goods, the majority of Governor Navarette's inventory is comprised of various textiles that account for ninety-five line items and include various colors and grades of Brittany cloths, French shag, Rouen Linen, Chinese silks, Spanish handkerchiefs, and fabrics from Mexico as well as ornamental fabrics like baize, silver and gold galloon, cord and lace, and twisted silks as well as twenty-one sets of hangings for a sedan chair (*silla de mánitas*). Household goods comprise the second-most abundant type of item on the inventory and account for sixty-two separate line items, but are primarily limited to blankets, bedspreads, and soap. Loads of various horse tack comprise twenty line items in the inventory and include bridles, harnesses, stirrups, saddles, saddle bags, saddle irons, as well as spurs. Bulk foodstuffs make up eighteen line items of the inventory, although fourteen of these line items are comprised of pounds of sugar and chocolate while the remaining four items include small baskets of lavender, rosemary, and cumin, one pound of pepper and cloves, one parcel of cinnamon, and a little can of saffron. Weapons account for sixteen line items and include two chests of twenty muskets, embroidered musket sheaths (n=10) and eleven chests of gun powder as well as long swords (n=30), swords (n=31), embroidered sword sheaths (n=22), and an ornamented sword belt. Domestic goods only comprise five line items of the inventory and are limited to two boxes of iron *comales* (n=15) and six stone *metates* and *manos*. Although tobacco only comprises five line items in the inventory, Governor Navarrete was found with over 600 pounds of French tobacco (24 *arrobas*[43])

[43] 1 *arroba* equals 25.367 pounds (Haggard 1941: 72).

The three inventories presented above provide a good summary of the contraband market during the early to mid-eighteenth century when the majority of illegal commerce either directly involved French traders in Texas or involved governor-sponsored smuggling out of *Los Adaes*. Blancpain, a merchant from Natchitoches, was clearly sent deeper into Texas to trade with indigenous groups and possibly settlers at a time when the French believed Texas was there for the taking. Governor Navarrete, like his predecessors at *Los Adaes,* relied on and profited from goods from Natchitoches, and according to his inventory, he appeared to be more interested in profiting from his community than he was interested in supplying them with basic foodstuffs and goods. Although Navarrete denied his involvement with Fr. Zedano, the fact that Zedano told officials that Navarette gave him permission to trade and that the goods and the convoy originated in *Los Adaes* and were ultimately returned to Navarrete at *Los Adaes* indicates that he likely sponsored Zedano's trip.

Blancpain and Zedano's records reveal that the East Texas-centered illicit commerce was primarily based on trading with local indigenous groups, although their inventories did contain a significant number of goods, and especially textiles, that may have been reserved for trade with frontier settlers. Similarly, Navarrete's goods were purportedly just supplies for the presidio, but instead they appear to be luxury goods like chocolate, imported fabrics, and French tobacco and not frontier necessities.

The next set of records reveals a transition away from the governor-sponsored illicit trade in East Texas to a more inclusive contraband market. Although prominent individuals and families remained in the trade network, the records below suggest that during the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century more trade goods became available to a wider range of individuals resulting in more contraband traders with much more modest collections of goods. These observations correlate with the spike in records mentioning contraband in the Bexar Archives at the turn of the century and are

likely attributed to an increased presence of foreign traders in Louisiana and the emergence of New Orleans as a major export port in the Gulf of Mexico.

The first record involving smaller-scale traders dates to April 9, 1775 and concerns the legal proceedings against Jacinto de Mora and Marcos Hernández and their illegal possession and sale of two bundles of foreign tobacco (Ripperdá 1775). According to the record, Jacinto de Mora was a laborer native to *Los Adaes* but living in *Béxar* that received two bundles of tobacco from Natchitoches from Nicolás Beausoleille of Bucareli in repayment of a debt of five pesos. However, Beausoleille technically sold the two bundles of tobacco to a Bidai Indian, which he was licensed to do, who then in turn gave the tobacco to Mora to fulfill Beausoleille's debt. Jacinto de Mora then returned to *Béxar* and illegally sold the two bundles of tobacco for five pesos to Marcos Hernández who intended to trade the tobacco to the Lipan Apache for mules or hides. Both Mora and Hernández were found guilty and ordered to pay fines and Mora served 15 days in jail.

In contrast to Mora and Hernández's small-scale trade, the next series of records details a network of individuals involved in a contraband ring that included Captain Luis Antonio Menchaca. There is no actual inventory, because Menchaca and his associates were never caught, however the investigation reveals the types of goods smuggled in from New Orleans and indicates that a wide range of conspirators were involved. The investigation began on April 25, 1780 when Francisco Flores Galán, his servant, Julián de Orosco and another man, Lorenzo Reñé, arrived at *La Bahia* coming from Louisiana. The men were questioned by Governor Domingo Cabello that night and the servant, Julián de Orosco, revealed that Francisco Flores Galán had smuggled two trunks containing Brittany, Rouen, and West Indian Cloth, in addition to other goods he purchased in New Orleans and hid near the presidio before entering (Cabello 1780). Orosco also said that two other men, Felix Guerrero and Augustin Ruiz had been with them on the trip and purchased twenty-two bundles of tobacco weighing ninety-eight pounds at El Apelusa [sic], which were also hidden along with Galán's trunks. Orosco went on to say

that Don José Felix Menchaca and his nephew, Don Juan Ysurieta had accompanied the group from El Apelusa [sic] carrying five loads of cloth and other goods in addition to a slave that Ysurieta purchased in New Orleans (ibid).

Orosco's confession led to a trial and fines for Galán, but it also led to an investigation into the contraband activities of Don José Felix Menchaca and Don Juan Ysurieta. During the course of the investigation Captain Luis Antonio Menchaca and other prominent citizens including Joaquín Menchaca, Francisco Xavier Rodriguez, Manuel Berbán, and Luis Antonio Menchaca' mother-in-law, Maria Flores de Valdes were all implicated as accessories to the crime for helping conceal and prevent seizure of contraband goods (Cabello 1782). Based on the eyewitness account of Pedro Cantún, when Galán, Orosco, and Lorenzo Reñé arrived at *La Bahia*, Don José Felix Menchaca and Don Juan Ysurieta went on to Captain Luis Antonio Menchaca's Rancho San Francisco to hide their contraband goods and mules. Cantún indicated that the men were in possession of seven mule loads (not five as Orosco confessed) totaling fourteen bundles of goods purchased in New Orleans (ibid). Upon hearing about the questioning of Galán and Orosco, Captain Luis Antonio Menchaca, Joaquín Menchaca, Francisco Xavier Rodriguez, and Manuel Berbán moved the contraband goods to a cave along the arroyo El Salado. A separate anonymous tip led Governor Cabello to the cave, but the contraband had been moved again. That same anonymous tip also revealed that before the contraband was moved to the cave, the contrabandists removed 14 sombreros, a package of 300 decks of playing cards, and a piece of blue cloth from which Lieutenant Don Jose Menchaca planned to make himself a uniform (*y un pedaso de paño azul de que se estaba harcer un uniforme el Lut. Don Jose Menchaca*; ibid.). However, since the contraband goods could not be located, there was no evidence to charge Don José Felix Menchaca, Don Juan Ysurieta, or any of their accomplices.

Similarly, a case dating to December 16, 1802 details the proceedings against five individuals including Francisco Arman, Pedro Esparza, José Manuel de la Garza, Escandón Bergara, and Alexander de

la Garza (Guadiana 1802). According to the report, on the morning of December 14, 1802 a soldier, Diego Menchaca apprehended Escandón Bergara and Alexander de la Garza on the Camino Real crossing of the Angelina River. The two men were headed west into the interior of the province and were in possession of two small and one large pack of illicit goods, a mule, and four horses, but claimed that they were only the servants of Francisco Arman of Nacogdoches and that the goods belonged to Arman as well as his associates Pedro Esparza, a native of Los Adaes, but living in Nacogdoches, and José Manuel de la Garza of *Béxar* and cousin of Jose Antonio de la Garza. As a result, Arman and Esparza were detained and an arrest warrant was issued for Manuel de la Garza.

Although a trial followed and lasted until 1805, neither Bergara [sic] nor Alexander de la Garza revealed where they procured the goods, only that they were transporting the goods for Arman, Esparza, and Manuel de la Garza. However, their location on the Camino Real at the Angelina River suggests that they were leaving Nacogdoches and likely delivering goods to José Manuel de la Garza in *Béxar*. At the conclusion of the trial, the goods were sold at auction for a total of 615 pesos, and according to that inventory, the load was modest and consisted of fifty-four line items. Like most of the inventories examined thus far, half of the goods were comprised of a variety of textiles including ribbon, doilies (*pañitos*), grades of "royal" cloth, assorted decorated calicos, and assorted decorated cotton prints. Domestic goods are also prominent on the inventory and include a dozen fine earthenware plates (*platos loza*), eighteen large and small bowls, three jars, and eleven other plates. Similarly, household and personal items are also common on the inventory and include scissors, blankets, shaving kits (n=2), ivory combs (n=5), small white (n=168) and gold (n=48) buttons, and tie pins. The remaining noteworthy items on the inventory include one pound of tea, thirty-nine bunches of tobacco, thirty bone-grip knives, and nine large mallets.

A record from 1805 indicates that Natchitoches remained a source of illicit goods after the Louisiana Purchase, but also reveals that American traders were also becoming more prevalent in the

region. The 1805 record is a short report of the apprehension of Guillermo Suel at a pass on the Rio Azollaque (Attoyac Bayou) (Suel 1805). According to the report, Suel was on his way from Natchitoches to Nacogdoches on what was most likely the Camino Del Caballo, a smugglers' road from Louisiana to Texas (Handbook of Texas Online 2016). Although the record offers few specifics of the event, a review of the 1809 Nacogdoches Census reveals that Guillermo Suel (50) was a settler (*agregado*) from Pensebania [sic] who came to Nacogdoches in 1788 and in 1809 lived at Rancho de Tiuitana with the Kuerek family (Nacogdoches Census Report 1809). The inventory accompanying the report of Suel's apprehension reveals that the contraband goods were limited to two packages of various textiles similar to those confiscated from Bergara and Alexander de la Garza. The textiles included muslin, various decorated calicos, decorated cotton prints, and various decorated *pañitos*.

A record dating to two years after Suel's apprehension reveals that immigrants of all sorts were involved in small-scale trading in Texas at the beginning of the nineteenth century not just Anglo-American traders. In 1807 Francisco Menchaca reported that Santiago Conilte and "El Cojo" (The Lame) Sidre were at the home of Juan MacFalen in Nacogdoches and were in the possession of illicit goods. Later that same night the alferez of the presidio, Don José Maria Guadiana went to MacFalen's house to arrest the two men, but found the house empty. Instead, Don Guadiana found the doors unlocked, a candle lit, and two packages of goods on the floor. Neither Conilte, Sidre, or Macfalen were ever found, but the document indicates that MacFalen was a resident of the area. The 1804 Nacogdoches Census lists Conilte as a 23-year-old immigrant farmer from Ireland that lived with his two brothers in Nacogdoches, and the 1809 Census lists Santiago Sidre (42) and his son of the same name (21) as German immigrants who lived at Rancho Borregas (Nacogdoches Census Report 1804; 1809). Although the men were never found, and there was no trial, the goods recovered from Macfalen's house were sold at auction in Monclova by order of Governor Nemesio Salcedo to prevent the goods from staying in Nacogdoches or having a single individual buy all the goods and resell them in the area. Like the

previous inventories, the confiscated goods are primarily textiles including various calico prints, muslin, cotton prints, taffeta, and yarn (*borlón*). Other goods in the inventory include two sizes of scissors, twelve milled iron spoons, slate, and a rapier.

The next inventory of interest is associated with Vicente Rodríguez, a career criminal from *La Bahia* also known as *Cascabelillo* (tinkerbell or more likely a little rattle-brained fellow?). Rodríguez appears in the 1810 *La Bahia* Census as native of Camargo who came to *La Bahia* in 1792 and married Dolores de la Garza, a seventeen-year-old native of *La Bahia* (*La Bahia* Census Report, 1810). The census lists Vicente as a herder, but the archival record indicates that Vicente was imprisoned at *La Bahia* prior to 1810 for possession of illicit goods. Vicente escaped from jail in January of 1810, but was subsequently recaptured and charged with burglary of the paymaster's office in *La Bahia* in 1811 and contraband activities and murder in 1814 (Rodriguez 1814). José Antonio Longoria seized a load of illicit goods from Rodríguez in 1809 when he found Vicente and his associate outside of Nacogdoches at the Arroyo de la Raiz near the Angelina River likely on their way back to *La Bahia* (Longoria 1809).

Like previous inventories, *Cascabelillo's* illicit trade goods were primarily textiles that account for 65 percent the inventory's line items. Similarly, these textiles include various types of decorated calicos, muslins, cotton prints, hemp, gingham, as well as ribbon and scarves (ibid.). Domestic goods include small white earthenware plates and bowls (*platos y tazas chico de loza blanco*) as well as an "English" iron pot with three feet (u*na olla de Fierro Ynglesa* [sic] *tres* puntos) and milled iron forks (ibid.). The rest of the goods on the inventory include over thirty bundles of tobacco, cantor's hats, paint brushes, feather pens, and personal items belonging to Rodríguez and his companions including a broken military-issued pistol (*una pistola del armamento sin tornillo de recamara gancho ni quijada;* ibid.).

Although the number of records mentioning contraband during the 1810s decreased significantly from the preceding decade, revolution and American filibustering and privateering

campaigns that served both commercial and political purposes defined the period. The overall decrease in records mentioning illicit trade is partially a result of the increased military presence on the frontier following the Casas Revolt in 1811 and the Battle of Medina in 1813, events that concomitantly resulted in a major population decrease as the result of "the rebels" being executed, imprisoned, exiled, or going into hiding. As a result, my research failed to locate any inventories from this period. As such, the next record deals with a case of small-scale smuggling that dates to just before Mexico's Independence from Spain in 1820. Like the cases presented above, the contraband goods are primarily textiles from Natchitoches. However, there are a few interesting points about this case that are unique to the period and are worth mentioning.

The trial for this case lasted over four years, but in summary, two French men from Natchitoches, Juan Boy (25) and Emilio Manauton (26) were apprehended at *La Bahia* along with their two servants and another man, Pedro Porcela, a 68-year-old native of *Los Adaes* (Boy 1823). According to Boy's testimony they were traveling from Natchitoches to Refugio on the coast with five loads of goods and learned along the way they would no longer have to pay duties on the imported goods (ibid.). For unclear reasons, prior to entering *La Bahia*, the men hid the loads of cargo along the Camino Real. However, the *Alcalde,* José Miguel Alderete learned of the goods through an informant and had Boy and Manauton come to his house where he convinced them to bring the goods to his house by confirming that they would not have to pay duties (ibid.). Alderete's story changed once the goods arrived, and he said that the goods were going to be subject to duties up to forty percent, but to avoid having to pay, Boy and Manauton should hide one of the parcels of tobacco at Alderete's house since he was both the *Alcalde* and duty collector (*Alcavalero* [sic]). Three days later, Tomas Buestello took over as *Alcavalero* and was apparently aware of the goods hidden at Alderete's house. As a result, Alderete devised a plan to have Manauton and Porcela retrieve the package later that night. This proved to be a trap, and

Buestello and Alderete apprehended Manauton and Porcela soon after they retrieved the goods and Boy was arrested shortly after (ibid.).

The case went to trial, but had to be re-tried once Alderete was implicated in the lawsuit, and in 1824 Boy and Manauton were released, given the goods for which they had already paid duties, and continued south towards Saltillo. When all was said and done, the inventory of embargoed goods included various pieces of calico, Brittany linen, some scarves, two pieces of refined white earthenware, personal foodstuffs, and packs of tobacco (ibid.).

Anglo-American colonization was in full swing by the mid-1820s, and as suggested above, contraband goods entering through ports along with legal goods to supply the colonists became a major concern for the Mexican government. One such case was documented in 1826 when Don Juan Fabián brought illicit goods into port at the Sabine River on the vessel, *Dos Amigos* (Alderete 1826). The 1826 record is only a notice of Don Fabián's offense and an inventory of the illicit goods, so the specifics surrounding the case are unclear. Similarly, I was unable to conclusively identify Juan or John Fabián in any available census and the origins of *Dos Amigos* are unclear, although the Texas Navy did capture a Mexican merchant vessel named *Dos Amigos* in 1842[44].

Unlike the previous inventories discussed, the *Dos Amigos* cargo primarily contained bulk foodstuffs including fifty barrels of flour, 300 pounds of coffee, ten barrels of Holland gin, one barrel of vinegar, three barrels of sugar, three sacks of rice, two large bags of almonds, and ten barrels of butter (Alderete 1826). Additional supplies in the cargo included twenty small cases of soap, four loads (*tercios*) of tobacco, two barrels of marked tobacco, a case of knives, and a load of guinea (*Una tercio de guinea blanca*), a British gold coin worth approximately twenty shillings (ibid.). For comparative

[44] There was also a slave ship named *Dos Amigos* that was captured by the British Naval ship *Black Joke* and renamed *Fair Rosamond* in 1831. This more famous schooner primarily carried slaves between West Africa and Brazil (Royal Museums Greenwich 2016).

purposes, an inventory of legally imported goods from New Orleans and Matamoros aboard *L'Agosto Juan* captained by Juan Quieré in 1827 included four barrels of anise liquor from France, four barrels of red wine, four barrels of sweet wine, three barrels of cider, two barrels of muscatel wine, four barrels of fine ceramics, four barrels of oil, twelve large cases of raisins, four large cases of cod, three cases of liquor, five cases of muscatel, one case of aguardiente with fruit, two large baskets of bottles of oil, 500 bottle corks, one case of anchovies, two cases of capers, eight tin pots, fourteen iron pots, twelve irons, and seven cases of merchandise (Quieré 1827).

Although the 1830s represent one of the more active periods of illicit trade in Texas, I was unable to find any inventories of goods from this period. The Colonization Law of April 6, 1830, prohibited American immigration into Texas, but the law also encouraged Mexican and European colonists to settle in Texas and opened coastal trade to foreign entities. These new laws inspired Irish immigrant and merchant, John McMullen to enter into an *empresario* contract and establish a colony on the Nueces River in present-day San Patricio County. After immigrating to Georgia in the early nineteenth century McMullen moved to Matamoros in the 1820s and shortly after that he and his son-in-law, James McGloin established the McMullen-McGloin Colony at San Patricio in 1831 (Herbert and Oberste 2016). McMullen apparently recognized his role as an *empresario* as an avenue to expand his career as merchant and was accused of smuggling goods on the vessels that brought the colony's Irish immigrants to Texas from New York (Flores 1834). As suggested above, like all the records that I examined during the 1830s, McMullen's contraband goods are vaguely described as thirteen loads of merchandise, which it can be assumed, were meant for the settlers (ibid.). However, after the revolution, McMullen established himself as a merchant in San Antonio.

Discussion

Like the discussions beforehand regarding how the missions and various indigenous groups influenced supply, production, and trade in the early eighteenth century, the purpose of the second half

of this chapter was to investigate another aspect of the frontier market economy and to clarify how *Béxareños* fulfilled their material needs through the illicit trade market and to elucidate the types of goods they used in their homes. Although the contraband market was likely never the primary source of goods in *Béxar*, the data above reveal that illicit trade served a significant role in providing everyday goods to the frontier during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The index search data and the records above generally separate the contraband market into three chronological stages. The first stage is what has been referred to by historians as the "golden age of Spanish smuggling on the Texas-Louisiana frontier" during the 1750s and 1760s and is represented by the Blancpain, Fr. Zedano, and Governor Navarrete records (Galan 2008: 208). While these three records are excellent examples of this era of trading, there are only four total records in the Bexar Archives that refer to contraband during this period. Similarly, according to the case study data there are relatively few items in the archaeological record outside of a few sherds of faience and a French-made gunflint that indicate any ties between *Béxar* and the illicit trade market during this period. This is not without reason, and according Blancpain's and Fr. Zedano's testimonies, their primary interest was trading with the indigenous groups around the Trinity River in East Texas. Similarly, in theory Governor Navarrete's contraband goods were meant to supply the presidio at *Los Adaes* and not *Béxar*. Conversely, Blancpain's and Fr. Zedano's inventories contained trade goods that may have been meant for the region's settlers, and according to Fr. Zedano, he was in trading with Navarrete's permission indicating the possibility that there may have been a wider market for their goods beyond the indigenous groups of the Trinity River basin. The archaeological record may be silent in this regard as many of the goods that could be interpreted as trade goods for frontier communities in Blancpain and Fr. Zedano's inventories are textiles or tobacco and would not be preserved in the archaeological record. In fact, Blancpain's and Fr. Zedano's inventories are extremely similar to the items in Juan Leal Goraz's probate cited above that included some textiles as well as the locked pine box with seventeen hunting

knives and trade beads (Goraz 1743). Furthermore, Fr. Benito Fernández identified *Isleños* Juan Leal Goraz and Vicente Alvarez Travieso and *agregados,* Miguel Núñez Morillo and José Antonio Rodriguez, as small-scale traders in *Béxar* in the 1740s (de la Teja 1995: 131-132). As a result, it is possible that *Béxareños* were involved in the early Texas-Louisiana frontier trade network, although the evidence suggests that it was to a limited degree, and may have served a more important purpose of obtaining goods to trade with local indigenous groups or luxury goods for themselves.

The second era in the evolution of the contraband market occurred in the 1770s and the shift can be attributed to France's cession of its possessions west of the Mississippi River to Spain in 1762, the reordering of colonial powers at the end of the Seven Years War in 1763, and the reorganization of Texas in the 1770s. The reorganization of Texas in the 1770s moved the capital and its residents from *Los Adaes* to *Béxar* and increased the region's population and the settlement's importance on the frontier. Not coincidentally, a small number of petty merchants appeared in *Béxar* for the first time during this period. Unlike earlier small-scale traders in *Béxar*, these merchants were (predictably) drapers who also supplied the villa with bulk foodstuffs and domestic wares (de la Teja 1995: 133). Additionally, most of these early merchants were not native *Béxareños*, and while some came from as far away as Spain, as was the case of San Antonio's most famous merchant, Fernando Veramendi, most had ties to the contraband market established in *Los Adaes*.

The most relevant record to my dissertation detailing the expansion of the contraband market across the region is the 1780 record that implicates the Menchaca family in an organized illicit trade ring that according to the record involved shipping goods from New Orleans to *La Bahia* and eventually to *Béxar*. More significantly, the anonymous tip that Lieutenant Don José Menchaca kept a piece of blue cloth to make his own uniform provides direct evidence of an instance in which imported textiles, which

comprise the overwhelming majority of all contraband goods during this period, were used to supply a *Béxareño* with an essential need.

While the Menchaca case is significant and specifically relevant to my dissertation, all of the contraband records cited above beginning with Mora and Hernández's 1775 record regarding small-scale tobacco trade and ending with Emilio Manauton and Juan Boy's 1820s trial detailing their load of illicit tobacco, highlight the petty nature of the contraband trade while also pointing to the dearth of goods available on the frontier and the overall importance of small-scale trade to fulfill basic needs of the frontier communities. Béxar's commandant general, Bernando Bonaví, best summarizes this sentiment in a statement from 1809:

> "Contraband captured on the frontier proves the zeal of our officers. The small amounts of it and its miserable quality, show that smugglers are driven to crime by necessity and not by greed; Smugglers deserve pity rather than punishment, *vecinos* are stockmen rather than farmers, and they have an abundance of horses and mules. At the same time, they lack clothing, implements, tools, furniture, and many other articles of civilized life. Their only base of supplies is the fair of Saltillo, which is made up of traveling merchants from Mexico City who obtain articles on credit, and therefore, sell only merchandise of poor quality and at exorbitant prices. Furthermore, whatever is purchased at Saltillo has to be freighted an extremely long distance to San Antonio and then to the east Texas frontier. Low prices in the United States, the short distance, and the extensive frontier line, are factors that encourage *vecinos* to risk capture and loss of goods while exporting livestock to exchange in Natchitoches and New Orleans for merchandise" (Haggard 1942: 162).

The second decade of the nineteenth century was defined by filibustering campaigns on land and privateering in the gulf, both of which served the commercial and political motivations of a host of

entities including some *Béxareños*. It is no coincidence that most American-sponsored filibustering expeditions including the Gutiérrez-Magee Expedition began in Natchitoches, followed the same paths that many of the traders used in the records cited above, and were welcomed by the frontier communities. Although I recovered no inventories from this decade, the records cited above and Bonavía's evaluation of the illicit trade market and economic conditions in the region indicate that commerce had not improved in the region since the eighteenth century despite the establishment of a cattle economy. Concomitantly, the administration continued to emplace stricter policies against trade despite the economic opportunities offered by Louisiana which in part influenced many *Béxareños* and *Tejanos* to turn their back on the Crown and support American campaigns in Texas (Poyo et al. 1996: 22). While their personal motives for supporting the Gutiérrez-Magee Expedition and joining the republican forces in the Battle of Medina likely varied, hundreds of *Béxareños* including Clemente Delgado and Francisco Arocha rebelled against the Crown in part because they disagreed with the oppressive economic system the Crown enforced, but also believed that open commerce with the Americans could improve their local conditions. This of course was not a new idea, but instead it was a sentiment reminiscent of *Béxareños'* earlier ploys to extend the cattle economy into Louisiana decades earlier. At its roots the contraband market in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries embodies the independent frontier spirit and autonomy recognized as a cornerstone of *Tejano* identity (ibid.: xiii).

Although the contraband market may have been influential in the minds of *Tejanos* and provided essential goods to frontier communities, the evidence above depicts the character of the contraband market as small-scale trade comprised primarily of textiles and tobacco as well as some domestic goods like foodstuffs, ceramics, and cook wares. Accordingly, the comparative analyses between the early eighteenth century deposits at 41BX179 and those from the Delgado Cistern and Núñez-Arocha Middens do not indicate that there was any kind of significant influx of goods. The

midden deposit from Unit B-E at 41BX179 contained 558.8 artifacts per cubic meter while the cistern and midden deposits at 41BX1753 and at 41BX1598 averaged 461 and 630.4 artifacts per cubic meter respectively indicating similar disposal practices at that the three sites as well as similar volumes of refuse. However, ceramics and lithics comprised a total of 96.5 percent of the non-bone assemblage at 41BX179 but only an average of 60 percent and 77 percent of the same assemblages at 41BX1753 and 41BX1598 respectively while metal and glass artifacts increased from a total of two percent of the non-bone assemblage at 41BX179 to an average total of 16.9 and 8.4 percent of the non-bone assemblage at 41BX1753 and 41BX1598 respectively. These comparative data imply that the households associated with the three sites each had equally modest material conditions, but that a relatively wider variety of types of goods and materials were available later in time.

The increase in proportions of glass artifacts recognized at 41BX1753 and 41BX1598 is actually much more conservative than the figures above suggest. While glass artifacts accounted for only one percent of the early eighteenth century collection at 41BX179, glass artifacts still only made up an average of 4.6 and 3.8 percent of the respective non-bone assemblages from 41BX1753 and 41BX1598. Accordingly, glass objects are absent on all seven contraband inventories between 1775 and 1820. Overall, these data indicate that glass was relatively scarce on the frontier throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The absence of glass objects in the contraband inventories and the rarity of glass artifacts in the archaeological record are likely due to the fact that glass goods were not conducive to the methods and conditions of supplying the frontier communities, specifically mule trains that traveled long distances on undeveloped supply routes regardless if they came from Louisiana or Mexico. The contraband inventories and other records in the archive do indicate that casks and/or barrels were the preferred methods of transporting liquids like aguardiente, *pulque*, or oil on the supply routes suggesting that these liquids were delivered to communities in bulk. Furthermore, the overall demand for glass objects like bottles in these communities was likely insignificant as the archaeological

data suggests that *Béxareños* had access to, and regularly used locally-produced *ollas* and jars that served many of the same functions as glass bottles.

Conversely, textiles and tobacco represent the most common types of goods listed on the inventories from this period, which are both amenable to the harsh conditions of the frontier supply routes. More important, *Béxar* primarily only produced cattle and corn, and although hides served some of the community's clothing needs, *Béxareños* relied on imported textiles and tobacco. According to the testimonies from Urrutia 1743 and Bonavía's 1809 comments, *Béxareños* struggled to keep themselves clothed throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth century suggesting that the contraband market served a necessary role. Similarly, tobacco was an important commodity on the frontier, so much so that the Crown sponsored numerous failed attempts to cultivate tobacco in Central Texas. Furthermore, the record is fairly clear that everyone on the frontier including *Béxareños* and indigenous peoples preferred "French" tobacco from Louisiana over tobacco from Mexico. As a result, illicit tobacco trade fulfilled a specific, but necessary demand for the frontier communities. Unfortunately, direct evidence of textiles and tobacco do not appear in the archaeological record. However, a comparison of the data reveals a modest increase in clothing-related personal goods. A single ferrous belt buckle is the only clothing related artifact in the 41BX179 collection while the 41BX1753 collections include five different types of cuprous and bone buttons and the 41BX1598 collections include an unspecified number of buttons and a cuprous thimble. Similarly, although ceramic tobacco pipes are generally rare in the case study site collections, the three that exist are all from late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries contexts.

The slight differences between the collections in regard to proportions of metal, glass, and personal items indicate modest changes to material conditions over time that may correlate to the illicit trade market during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. However, the most abundant

evidence of the contraband trade in Texas during this period is the relatively dramatic increase in English ceramics. English ceramics comprise 15.3 percent of the 41BX1598 ceramic assemblage and 31.5 percent 41BX1753 assemblage, but only 23.7 percent of the 41BX1753, Unit 5 assemblage which represents the period of time in which the cistern was actually in use. Although these proportions represent a significant increase from the 41BX179 collection, which contained no foreign ceramics, these data suggest that the majority (between 68.1 and 84.7 percent) of the ceramics in the respective households during this period were either locally-produced or imported from Central Mexico.

Only two of the seven contraband inventories between the years 1775 to 1820 listed ceramics among their trade goods. These records include the Francisco Arman and Pedro Esparza 1802 inventories that comprised a dozen fine earthenware plates (*platos loza*), eighteen large and small bowls, three jars, and eleven other plates, as well as the 1809 record involving Vicente Rodríguez, a.k.a. *Cascabelillo* who was in possession of *platos y tazas chico de loza blanco*. *Loza* has a broad definition and according to the 1802 *New Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages* (Neuman 1802) and the 1809 *A Dictionary: Spanish and English, and English and Spanish* (Barretti 1809) *loza* is respectively defined as "delft, a fine fort of earthenware" and simply as "earthenware". However, the fact that the 1802 inventory distinguished between *platos loza* and just *platos* indicates that *loza* refer to "a fine fort of earthenware," and more than likely represents English ceramics which were beginning to flood the world's markets during the period.

Spain's support of the United States during the American Revolution and the associated American blockade of English ships in the 1880s as well as the subsequent Anglo-Spanish War (1779-1808) generally hampered Spanish trade with Great Britain throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. However, Spain's failing economy and mercantilist policies during this period resulted in numerous cases where the Crown aggressively purchased foreign goods at low prices to the

detriment of their own industries. Ceramics were one of these industries and according to Alexander von Humboldt who visited the region in 1803, European goods were flooding the port at Vera Cruz and as a result the majolica "manufactories have fallen so much off, on account of the low price of the stone ware and porcelain of Europe [that of] the forty-six manufactories which were still existing in 1793, there were in 1802 only sixteen remaining of [majolica]" (Humboldt 1966, V3: 469). As a result, it is possible that some of the English ceramics in the respective assemblages may not be contraband goods and may have arrived in the community through traditional supply chains. However, the fact that New Orleans was also aggressively importing European goods and that goods smuggled from Louisiana into Texas were not subject to the duties that typically made the cost of goods prohibitive indicate that the majority of the ceramics in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries archaeological record are evidence of illicit trade. The archaeological and archival data generally support this hypothesis as the proportions of English wares in the 41BX1753 and 41BX1598 assemblages are relatively low which corresponds to the small-scale trade of domestic goods documented in the archival record.

Conversely the 41BX1753 and 41BX1598 assemblages do not bear evidence of a market flooded with European goods, but rather signify a market in transition. As stated in Chapter 6, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Texas are defined by revolution, but the material record in *Béxar* during the period demonstrates a level of stability to balance the change. Although the changes were modest, the introduction of new kinds of goods signifies new material practices. The calico and cotton prints from New Orleans that dominate the contraband inventories likely inspired new trends in fashion that could subtly or drastically alter a range of practices from sewing to dressing or even dancing and performance at the *fandangos*. Similarly, the 1802 and 1809 contraband inventories list tea and tea sets (*platos y tazas chico de loza blanco*) respectively among their lists of goods. Tea was becoming much more common among all social classes during this period in Europe, but especially among the middle class in England due to the industrialization of the ceramic industry and the concomitant

affordability of ceramic tea sets. Archaeological evidence of "painted teas" or cups and saucers is present in the 41BX1753 and 41BX1598 assemblages indicating that the trend and the host of rituals and practices associated with tea consumption and consumer culture in the eighteenth century may have been also catching on in *Béxar*.

Similarly, the archival and archaeological records provide evidence for an increase in various items that were not present earlier in the century including personal hygiene goods like toothbrushes and combs, domestic goods like iron pots, spoons, and forks, as well as household items like scissors, feather pens, paintbrushes, and candlestick holders. Objects like iron pots and scissors may have replaced indigenous technologies like bone tempered pots and lithic tools and inspired new ways of cooking and other practices, goods like spoons and forks may have modified existing daily practices, while items like the toothbrush may have introduced an entirely new practice all together. However, many of these goods like the toothbrush, the fork, tea sets and various other personal items speak to ideas of individuality that were the cornerstone of the Enlightenment, the American Revolution, and Manifest Destiny. Although these items are relatively rare within the archival and archaeological records, their introduction to the frontier was likely meaningful during a period when Enlightenment-influenced ideas were inspiring revolutions in Europe and the New World. Long before there was an American presence in the region *Tejanos* and *Béxareños* believed that open commerce with Louisiana could improve their local conditions. However, American strategies like filibustering campaigns modified the existing illicit trade market to serve political needs. While filibustering campaigns are certainly more overt, their successes were due to established trade relationships with *Tejanos* and indigenous groups on the frontier. Most important, these trade relationships were built on the actual goods that directly and/or subconsciously influenced individuals and communities through daily practices and may have inspired a revolution. It is likely that many on the frontier recognized the new

goods and practices “modern” and “civilized”, concepts that would have been important in accepting revolutionary principles.

Finally, authors have suggested that elite *Béxareño* families utilized the contraband trade in general and imported ceramics specifically as ways to promote their social status (Fox 1992: 74). Both 41BX1753 and 41BX1598 represent prominent households, but because there is no comparative data from less prominent households in the villa it is difficult to determine if contraband goods or English ceramics were common throughout the community or exclusive to higher social statuses. If prominent *Béxareños* used imported ceramics as a way to promote their social status, then the evidence may be indicative of the adoption of consumer culture ideals. European and American consumer culture of the era implies major shifts in economic and moral ideologies where the display of material wealth replaced relationships and family connections as the ways in which social hierarchy was expressed (Newman et al, 2001: 211). Realistically, the illicit trade market in the early nineteenth century did not alter *Béxar’s* social structure to the point where the material expression of wealth trumped genealogy. More appropriately, the contraband inventories suggest that the illicit trade market in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was not exclusive to a specific social class, but included everyone from the Presidio Captain and his mother-in-law to servants and slaves. Social hierarchy obviously played a significant role in how the contraband market was organized and how illicit trade was practiced, but more important it established relationships and partnerships among individuals across the frontier and across social boundaries. The organized trade relationships recognized in the archival record ranged from those as complex as the Menchaca family trade conspiracy in the 1780 record, to those as simple as the Jacinto de Mora and Marcos Hernández tobacco smuggling effort in the 1775 record, but most of the records reveal some level of intercommunity trade relationship that connected the East Texas communities to *Béxar*, *La Bahia*, indigenous groups, and/or foreign and Anglo-American traders. In this way, the contraband trade linked frontier communities and helped to forge a unified *Tejano* identity

that was based on autonomy and built from the foundations of regional identities like *Béxareños* and *Adaeseños*.

The third and final era in the evolution of the contraband market is associated with the Mexican Era when American and European colonists and legal and illicit goods began to arrive *en masse* at Texas ports. Liberal colonization laws, the relaxation of many trade laws, duty exemptions, and the opening of Texas' ports in the 1820s redefined illicit trade in the region and many imported foreign goods that were previously forbidden were now available but subject to duties. However, contraband goods continued to serve necessary roles in frontier communities during the Mexican period. During his 1828 inspection of Texas as the head of the Mexican Boundary Commission, General Manuel de Mier Y Terán commented on the poor conditions of *La Bahia* where,

> "They grow a little corn far away, and they have to bring in everything else from other places. Beans cost thirty-six pesos a load. A small bundle of tobacco that costs a peso in Nacogdoches is worth ten times as much here. Coffee, which is a necessity for everyone and especially for the presidial soldiers, costs one peso per pound. Flour is totally lacking and, in a word, the new customs duties law, which prohibits the introduction of those items in the very soils of the central states [of Mexico], has produced terrible devastation here. It is doubtful that such a law was created for Tejas, but officials zealously enforce it for personal reasons. The inhabitants, for their part, go in search of contraband as a convenient way to obtain merchandise, this causing a thousand vexations for the few foreign trades who land at Matagorda" (Jackson 2000: 152).

Accordingly, Jean Louis Berlandier, the botanist who accompanied Terán on the Boundary Commission's inspection of Texas, described the conditions in *Béxar* as

> "Ciudad de *Béxar* resembles a large village more than a municipal seat of a department. There is no paved street and no public building. Trade with the Anglo-Americans, and the blending in

> some degree to their customs, make the inhabitants of Texas a little different from the Mexicans of the interior, whom those in Texas call foreigners and whom they scarcely like because of the superiority which they recognize in them. In their gatherings, the women prefer to dress in the fashion of Louisiana, and by doing so they participate in both the customs of the neighboring nation and of their own…Unfortunately for the creoles of Texas, the agricultural industry which they have shown in our time is so wretched that a monopoly over them by the American colonies is to be feared" (Jackson 2000: 17).

Consistent with these observations, Terán's inspection determined that Texas was defenseless against American imperialism, and without major reform, it was only a matter of time before the region was ceded to the America colonists, who continued to flood the region. Terán's recommendations inspired the Colonization Law of April 6, 1830, which among others things, closed Texas' borders to American immigrants and prohibited slavery in the region. More important, the Colonization Law seeded American settlers' disfavor of the Mexican government and ironically inspired the revolution that the law was meant to prevent.

Contrary to Terán's description of *La Bahia* and Berlandier's characterization of *Béxar* as economic backwater, the archaeological record of the Mexican Era in San Antonio suggests that households consumed more goods and had access to a wider variety of goods than ever before. The ODF 1 midden at 41BX1752 (n=2,983 per m^3) has nearly six times the number of artifacts per cubic meter than the average (n=562 per m^3) of the other sites and 3.7 times the next highest density observed in the upper portion of the Southern Midden at 41BX1598 (n=800 per m^3). Accordingly, while the cargoes of *Dos Amigos* and *L'Agosto Juan* were primarily comprised of bulk foodstuffs, the volume of goods carried on these ships is dramatically larger than any of the previous contraband inventories. While the frontier population was growing and these cargoes were not specifically meant to supply

Béxar, as representative samples of illicit and legal goods at Texas' ports in the 1820s, these inventories indicate that more supplies were available on the frontier than in the past. The cargo from *Dos Amigos* alone carried 300 pounds of coffee, ten barrels of Holland gin, and ten barrels of butter among other bulk items indicating that the contraband trade had evolved well beyond small mule trains to include a variety of suppliers and products.

The four barrels of fine ceramics aboard the *L'Agosto Juan* are the most relevant items to this study as far as cargoes are concerned and provide evidence of how the sheer volume of goods introduced into a region can change the material composition of a household and influence changes in material practices. As suggested, although ceramics appear on multiple contraband inventories from the previous decades, they never appear in significant quantities. Likewise, foreign ceramics are not present in the eighteenth century deposits at 41BX179 and English ceramics comprise a modest average of 19 percent of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries ceramic assemblages from 41BX1753 and 41BX1598. Conversely, the evidence of bulk importation of fine ceramics in the archival record during the Mexican Era directly correlates with a dramatic increase of English ceramics in the archaeological record from the period. English ceramics comprise an average of 66.3 percent of the Mexican Era assemblages from 41BX1752, 41BX6, and from 41BX677 indicating that imported ceramics more than tripled in little more than a decade or two. While these data suggest English ceramics became more popular in households in the Mexican Era, they more appropriately depict how the market shifted from small-scale contraband trade at the turn of the century to the mass importation of foreign goods during American colonization.

Similarly, as suggested in Chapter Seven, the data seem to suggest that English ceramics proportionally replaced locally produced ceramics over time. It is unlikely that English ceramics functionally replaced locally produced ceramics. Instead, it is more probable that certain household

practices, like tea service, that were introduced earlier in the eighteenth century became normalized across the villa during the Mexican Era through interaction with, and integration of foreign colonists into *Béxar's* social structure. As such, the overall increase of English ceramic types more accurately reflects new domestic activities than the continuation of old practices with the same types of objects. The influx of imported goods and colonists in the period thrust *Béxar* into an era of consumer capitalism, and according to the data, *Béxareños* began to participate in some of the practices that defined middle class values in England and America in the nineteenth century. The ceramic assemblages from 41BX1752, 41BX6, and 41BX677 display abundant evidence of matched tea sets and service wares, items indicative of the ritualized social practices utilized by the middle class in the nineteenth century as an expression of social hierarchy (Newman et al. 2001: 211). While the seeds of these practices were likely planted in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as American and British goods trickled into the region through the contraband trade, the inundation of goods that flooded the market in the Mexican Period immersed Béxareños and *Tejanos* in the emerging consumer culture. In the same way that Berlandier equated *Béxareños'* preference for New Orleans fashion with the adoption of American customs, the proliferation of imported ceramics in households during the Mexican Era introduced *Béxareños* to new practices and over time, the objectification of the interplay between agents, objects, and social structure made "the inhabitants of Texas a little different from the Mexicans of the interior" (Jackson 2000: 17).

The cargo inventories also indicate that in addition to an increase in the overall volume of imported goods, the variety of goods available in the region increased dramatically. For example, according to earlier contraband inventories, aguardiente was the primary type of alcohol available in the region, whereas *L'Agosto Juan* carried three types of wine, cider, anise liquor, cases of assorted liquor, and aguardiente. Similarly, both ships' cargoes contained a litany of items that were not on previous contraband inventories including almonds, raisins, cod, capers, and irons. As a representative sample of

goods coming into Texas ports during the Mexican Era, the variety of imported goods in these cargoes suggest that the market shifted to accommodate the needs and tastes of the American and European immigrants. In this process *Béxareños* encountered new foodstuffs and goods that may have influenced what they consumed and how they consumed it.

The glass artifact assemblages from 41BX1752, 41BX6, and 41BX677 provide good evidence of the increase in volume and variety of goods available on the frontier during the Mexican Era and elucidate ways in which *Béxareños* may have altered the ways that they consumed goods in general. Glass artifacts (n=780) comprise over 15 percent of the 41BX1752 non-bone collection, or over three times the proportions observed at 41BX1753 and 41BX1598 and fifteen times the proportion observed at 41BX179. Additionally, the 41BX1752 collection overall is considerably much larger than the other collections indicating that glass objects are both proportionally more significant as well as much more abundant at 41BX7152 than any other site. Of the analyzed sample (n=236), 69.5 percent of the 41BX1752 glass assemblage is kitchen artifacts (n=144) and primarily bottle glass. The majority of this sample is comprised of olive-colored samples (n = 109) that can be associated with a wide variety of beverages including wine, spirits, and beer. However, the only diagnostic finish observed in the sample were examples of laid-on ring champagne style finishes that are commonly associated with ”highly carbonated product[s] like champagne and beer” (Lindsey 2014). The sample also includes four other bottle glass color types and at least three additional bottle vessel types that further represent variation among the types of beverages consumed. Furthermore, 41BX6 and 41BX677 both had higher proportions of glass artifacts than 41BX1752 and the 41BX6 collection contained over twice as many total specimens than 41BX1752 indicating that glass vessels and a variety of beverages were extremely common in the villa during the Mexican Era.

This of course was not the case in the previous decades, and the archival record reveals that alcohol consumption in general was highly regulated and that aguardiente and *pulque* were the two primary alcoholic beverages available in the region under the Crown. Furthermore, the archaeological record from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries indicates that beverages of all kinds were rarely stored in glass bottles. While the glass artifact data from 41BX1752, 41BX6, and 41BX677 do not provide direct evidence indicating that *Béxareños* consumed more alcohol than in past decades, it is the first tangible data that demonstrate that *Béxareños* regularly consumed alcohol in their households. The absence of direct evidence of household alcohol consumption in earlier deposits does not mean *Béxareños* did not drink in their homes before the Mexican Era. However, the evidence suggests that after independence *Béxareños* had greater access to alcohol (and all goods) in a form (glass bottles) that was more conducive to individual or household consumption and personalized choice. Again, the comparative evidence is lacking, but the introduction of bottled alcohol could represent a shift in alcohol consumption from public and communal settings like the *cantina*, to more private settings like the household. This shift would have had far reaching implications in terms of consumption practices, women were not allowed in *cantinas* and drinking in general was both legally and morally regulated in public. Bottled alcohol, in theory, would have allowed women to drink in the privacy of their own homes and all individuals would have been welcome to drink as much as they wanted outside the view of their peers and authorities. As a new practice inspired by a new product, consuming alcohol at home could have challenged the moral and religious perceptions of drunkenness taught by the Catholic Church. Although this is ultimately only speculation, the possibility that something like glass bottles could revolutionize the ways *Tejanos* consumed certain goods and concomitantly contest or change certain perceptions of self-identification is significant.

While it is unclear if they consumed more alcohol than in previous decades, the data do provide clear evidence that *Béxareños* consumed a wider variety of alcoholic beverages in the Mexican Era than

in the past decades. French wines, Dutch gin, and American ciders represent a significant departure from Mexican-produced aguardiente and frontier-made *pulque*. This diversity extends to all imported goods of the era and whether it was British buttons, Chinese porcelain, or American commodities, the diverse origins of the cargoes represent Texas' entry into the international market and the various entities that were able to cross borders and influence *Tejanos* from afar. However, no influence was greater than American imperialism, and through colonization American settlers redefined the frontier. Unlike the Spanish and Mexican *fronteras*, the American frontier was destined to expand across foreign territories through commerce and military force. The *frontera* on the other hand was burdened with the perpetual duty of defending its borders from foreign intrusion and from illicit trade. Although there were various reasons behind the Texas War of Independence, the philosophical underpinnings of American imperialism and the associated concept of the expanding American frontier were at the root of the dispute. In many ways the economic and commercial aspects of American imperialism influenced many *Tejanos* to support the efforts of American colonization and the Texas War of Independence. The economic and commercial successes brought to the frontier by American colonization may have leveraged *Tejano* political support, but it was the sheer volume of goods and the colonists that changed perceptions at the household level. Just as in previous periods, the goods illegally and legally shipped into Texas during the Mexican Period were the mundane goods that supplied the frontier, but the volume and variety of goods in combination with the flood of immigrants and the associated philosophies of an emerging consumer culture differentiates the Mexican Era from decades past. The deluge of Anglo-American colonists and imported goods intensified the processes of cultural change initiated by the contraband trade earlier in the eighteenth century. While imported goods and foreign influences certainly affected how *Tejanos* experienced the world and their sense of self, *Tejanos* were participants in these processes. *Tejanos* pursued commerce aggressively, established trade networks, lobbied for Anglo-American colonization, created a demand for certain goods and chose

to bring them into their homes. In these ways *Tejanos* were active agents in the processes that shaped their material world and redefined their identity just as Texas entered into a new chapter in history that would again force *Tejanos* to adapt to the conditions of the frontier.

Conclusion

General Manuel de Mier Y Terán recognized the seeds of revolution along the borders and in the colonies on his inspection Texas in 1828, but Berlandier recognized the effects of the material saturation of American Imperialism when he concluded that trade with the Anglo-Americans made "the inhabitants of Texas a little different from the Mexicans of the interior" (Jackson 2000: 17). However, Berlandier did not realize that *Béxareños* and *Tejanos* were always a little different from the rest of Mexico. The frontier was a unique place and the settlers who came to Texas were a diverse group of people with complex backgrounds that found their way to the frontier as a part of an equally complex colonial policy. However, history did not begin when the settlers arrived, and instead Texas' original communities were established among a plurality of indigenous identities with dynamic pasts and understandings of the world that were forever altered by Spain's colonial project in Texas. History did not cease to be written after the settlers arrived, but instead the frontier was situated at the edge of shifting international boundaries and the effects of global politics reverberated in Texas in some ways more than the world's capitals. *Tejano* identity was born out of these conditions, and this chapter focused on specific aspects of the frontier economy and the role that material goods played in *Tejano* identity formation.

More specifically, this chapter examined facets of supply, production, and trade over time in *Béxar* and the greater region to identify the character of the frontier market and to elucidate some of the material practices that were integral to shaping *Tejano* identity. The frontier provided exceptional material conditions, and supplies, or the lack thereof, were always a major concern for *Béxareños* and *Tejanos*. In many ways the poverty and inhospitable conditions of the frontier defined the character of its inhabitants. In other ways the scarcity of goods made the available materials and resources that

much more important in shaping household practices and significant to the formation of a regional identity.

This was certainly the case in the eighteenth century when supply shortages were commonplace in *Béxar.* Unreliable and unimproved supply routes from Mexico, hostile indigenous groups, corrupt officials, and an unmotivated labor pool limited supplies and production in the villa and forced *Béxareño*s to rely on the missions and other indigenous peoples to fulfill many of their basic needs. The archaeological record provides important insight into this period, and while the 41BX179 assemblage generally confirms the impoverished conditions depicted in the archival record, the collection also provides evidence of the essential goods that the missions and indigenous groups supplied to *Béxareño*s. This type of evidence is fleeting in the archival record; the record is silent regarding pottery production at the missions and few records document specific instances when the missions or indigenous groups supplied the villa with necessary goods like ceramics. Instead the archival record characterizes the relationship between *Béxareño*s and the missions Indians as a struggle for the villa to control indigenous labor. *Béxareño*s recognized the importance and potential of indigenous labor in part because they were apparently accustomed to consuming mission-produced goods, but also because they witnessed the missions build the foundations of the region's cattle economy. Although *Béxareño*s never gained control of mission labor as they envisioned, indigenous technologies, traditions, and innovations provided *Béxareño*s with the essential goods, tools, and knowledge that established the basics of domestic life in *Béxar* and, provided the framework for the region's cattle economy. These elements influenced a range of *Béxareño*s' practices from cooking to ranching, and as objects and practices with deep histories in the region they helped to shape the regional *Béxareño* identity that characterized the community in the eighteenth century.

Despite the establishment of a cattle ranching economy in the second half of the eighteenth century, the conditions in the community improved very little and scarcity remained a reality of daily life. The Comanche were arguably more hostile than the Apache, officials remained corrupt, and trade regulations prevented the cattle industry from expanding beyond limited trade with the interior. However, due to the expansion of competing world markets to the east and *Béxareño*s' desire to expand their local cattle economy, a small-scale contraband market developed in the region that provided the frontier communities with essential supplies including textiles, tobacco, foodstuffs, and domestic goods. While pervasive and wide spread, illicit trade was modest and the contraband inventories of the period indicate that textiles and tobacco were the most common types of goods introduced into Texas from the east. However, the archival and archaeological records also indicate that various items that were not present earlier in the century began to enter the region. It is not a coincidence that objects like tea sets, toothbrushes, and forks appear in the respective records for the first time during a period when American filibustering campaigns were also spreading Enlightenment-influenced ideas across the frontier. The introduction and adoption of these new goods and practices in the region laid the ground work for the revolution that followed. More important, the goods and the trade networks established around the contraband trade linked frontier communities and helped to forge a unified *Tejano* identity that was based on autonomy and built from the foundations of regional identities.

The contraband market established in the eighteenth century evolved into a much more robust import economy in the Mexican Period. The flood of Anglo-American colonists and imported goods during the era intensified the processes of cultural change initiated by the contraband trade earlier in the eighteenth century. The sheer volume and variety of goods introduced to the region inevitably offered a host of practices with the ability to change perceptions of self. The ceramic assemblages from the period indicate that *Béxareño*s were participating in aspects of consumer culture that were more analogous with English and American middle class ideals than what was characteristic of the frontier in

previous decades. Similarly, the drastic increase in glass bottles in the collections from the period indicate possible shifts in alcohol consumption that could have altered perceptions about gender and morals central to *Tejanos'* Catholic values. The variety of goods in the archaeological and archival records in general represents the ways in which Texas and *Tejanos* were thrust into the international market and the varied influences pouring into the region. The frontier itself was being redefined as *Tejano* interests intersected with American imperialism and an emerging consumer culture. On the eve of the Texas War of Independence the unified *Tejano* identity established only decades before from the various regional identities was reshaped and reorganized according to *Tejanos'* varied perceptions of where they fit in in the frontier's future. Ultimately the Texas War of Independence and Texas Independence changed everything again, and the disparate *Tejano* identities of the Mexican Period became further fragmented as families and individuals reestablished themselves on a new frontier.

Chapter 9 : Summary and Conclusions

Introduction

Jean Louis Berlandier was correct when he concluded that "the inhabitants of Texas [were] a little different from the Mexicans of the interior" (Jackson 2000: 17). Although Berlandier's observations date to the Mexican Period, his commentary on *Tejanos* undoubtedly applied to *Béxareños* at any point during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The *pobladores* who settled the frontier came from diverse backgrounds, and whether it was the silver mines in Coahuila or the Canary Islands, they all had deep histories on the *frontera*. It is no wonder then that *Tejanos*, many of whom had never been to Central Mexico, thought of Central Mexicans as "foreigners" (ibid.: 17). Similarly, Berlandier was likely correct when he attributed the differences between *Tejanos* and *Mexicanos* in the 1820s to the former's adoption of Louisiana fashions and American customs. However, in the same breath Berlandier predicted that the "creoles of Texas" would meet their demise at the hand of American industry, indicating that although *Béxareños* were a little unlike their compatriots in Mexico, they clearly had less in common with the Americans (ibid.: 17). Like the *pobladores* before them, *Béxareños* and *Tejanos* were products of the frontier, or of a borderland that fluctuated over time and along the way encountered and inherited various social, national, and political identities. As residents of this frontier, *Tejanos* undoubtedly "participate[d] in both the customs of the neighboring nation[s] and of their own," but more important, through these adopted goods and customs, *Tejanos* established their own practices that made *Tejanos* distinct (ibid.: 17).

Although previous authors have examined various aspects of *Tejano* identity, my dissertation provides a new perspective into the role of *Tejano* agency in the development of the region by comprehensively evaluating *Tejano* identity through an examination of the archaeological and archival records from a perspective based in theories of materiality. The theoretical foundation of this dissertation implies that the material world influences practices and that identity is built on the interplay

between agents, the material world, and practices. As such, the primary objective of my dissertation was to compare the material worlds of various *Tejano* families over time and to explore how objects were enmeshed in the work of subject formation and reformation (Meskell 2002: 2).

Summary

In my dissertation I evaluated three case study sites including the Spanish Governor's Palace (41BX179), the Delgado Cistern (41BX1753), and the Padrón-Cháves Midden (41BX1752) as well as other complimentary sites and my research revealed significant changes in the material conditions over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A large portion of my dissertation is devoted to the comparative analyses of these sites, the identification of temporally diagnostic markers and the establishment of a chronological framework in San Antonio. Through the evaluation of the case study sites and an examination of the frontier market economy I came to the general conclusion that *Tejano* identity changed over time in part because of changing material conditions and the concomitant shifts in domestic practices. More specifically, due to supply shortages during the eighteenth century *Béxareño*s relied on local traditions, technologies, and practices that contributed to the establishment of a distinct regional identity. The supply shortages were caused by specific conditions of the frontier including isolation, poor roads, Apache and Comanche threat, and corrupt officials looking to profit from the frontier communities. Furthermore, the Mission Indians who had generational knowledge of life in South Central Texas provided *Béxareño*s with essential goods and supplies, and in doing so helped shape a range of practices central to the regional *Béxareño* identity in the eighteenth century.

This regional identity began to change later in the century as imported goods became more prevalent in the household. The archaeological and archival evidence indicates that many of the material practices established earlier in the eighteenth century endured into the nineteenth century. Although stability defines many aspects of the material record at the turn of the century, these data also suggest that during the period modest amounts of foreign goods became available in the region that

were primarily everyday goods like textiles, tobacco, and domestic goods that served essential needs. Although imported goods (and goods in general) were relatively scarce during the period, the introduction of new types of goods and practices likely influenced an accommodating frontier population that was starving for commercial autonomy. Furthermore, the illicit trade market was intertwined with subversive American tactics to enter the region, and in many ways, the contraband goods of the period worked to introduce Enlightenment-inspired ideas to the frontier. More important, the goods and the trade networks established around the illicit trade market linked frontier communities and helped to forge a unified *Tejano* identity that was based on autonomy and built from the foundations of regional identities.

Material conditions changed drastically following Mexico's independence from Spain, and according to the data, *Béxareño*s were so inundated with imported goods during the Mexican Period that by the Texas War of Independence, *Tejanos* were participating in many of the practices that defined nineteenth century consumer culture. During the period, the unprecedented amount of goods introduced to the frontier along with Anglo-American colonists inevitability opened *Tejanos* to an array of new practices that reshaped both *Tejano* identity and the frontier in general. American imperialism redefined the concept of the *frontera*, from a line of defense to protect the interior to an expanding borderland in which trade and commerce were enmeshed with colonization and development. As was the case in previous decades, imported goods and expanded commerce influenced *Tejanos* to accommodate foreign colonists and capitalist ideologies, and the economic and commercial successes American colonization brought to the frontier also leveraged *Tejano* political support. Nevertheless, it was the volume and variety of goods that introduced new practices and changed perceptions in households across the frontier. As a result, on the eve of the Texas War of Independence the unified *Tejano* identity established only decades beforehand was reshaped and reorganized according to *Tejanos'* varied perceptions of where they fitted in in the frontier's future.

Discussion

My conclusions do not differ too drastically from past studies of *Tejano* identity as most authors in the past have also recognized the dynamism of *Tejano* identity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Jesús de la Teja's recognition of a communal identity in *Béxar* in the eighteenth century that was based on "shared cultural or economic values" is roughly equivalent to the regional *Béxareño* identity that I attribute to poor material conditions in the community (de la Teja 1995: xiv). However, while de la Teja focused on the institutional and political commonalities that led to cooperation between the Canary Islanders and the presidial settlers, the material record highlights *Béxareño's* reliance on local goods, technologies, and knowledge that signify a greater importance of mission Indians and indigenous groups in shaping the community's identity during that period.

Similarly, Gerald Poyo (1996) suggested that a broader *Tejano* identity was solidified in the 1770s and 80s as the frontier became unified in their pursuit of economic and political autonomy. This unified identity was challenged during the Mexican War of Independence when *Tejanos* found themselves negotiating their varied interests with respect to the insurgency's goals, Royalist policies, and American intrusion. Accordingly, my argument says that Tejanos established a sense of unity through illicit trade networks while *Tejano* households became divided through the foreign ideologies that became ingrained in domestic practices through the adoption of foreign goods.

According to Poyo et al. and to Timothy Matovina, during the Mexican Period *Tejanos* became even more of an "intermediary group" between the Mexican government and American colonists and their identity shifted again to become "increasingly shaped by efforts to promote *Tejano* interests in the face of competing forces on both sides" (Matovina 1995: 23; Poyo et al 1996: 46). More appropriately, Andrés Reséndez described the frontier as a borderland where the "Mexican state and American markets collided" and challenged frontier residents with a "consistent set of identity choices and tensions" that often pulled these residents in opposite directions (Reséndez 2006: 6). Specifically

Reséndez suggested that American markets introduced new goods that "changed consumption patterns throughout the frontier," and concomitantly changed *Tejanos'* "yearnings and dreams about progress and civilization" (ibid.: 119). Although these authors stress the enduring qualities of Mexican heritage in the form of "institutions, patronage, orders, and rituals" in *Tejano* identity during the period, the material record indicates that *Tejano* households were inundated with imported goods and by extension American Imperialism and consequently with an emerging consumer culture that undoubtedly changed *Tejanos'* worldviews.

Like these previous investigations, my dissertation is also a diachronic analysis that examines the dynamism of *Tejano* identity, but as a study rooted in objects and materiality, my dissertation provides a new perspective into the role of *Tejano* agency in the development of region. Most previous studies in *Tejano* identity begin at broad scales and examine how religious and social institutions or economic and political structures are related to a shifting *Tejano* identity. My dissertation on the other hand begins in the household and focuses on the mundane objects and practices that unconsciously shaped the habitus and serve as the basis for subject formation. Unlike previous investigations that begin with structures and end at identity, through materiality, my approach provides a vantage point to examine the process in which objects, agents, and structures interact to construct and embody the objectifications of a distinct cultural identity. Similarly, previous authors situate *Tejano* identity around the objectifications of ethnic identity including common ancestry, shared culture, histories, and traditions to identify how these structural entities endured or changed due to internal and external influences. Conversely, my perspective based in materiality exposes the self-conscious expressions of difference that define ethnic identity through an examination of the material culture that is central to the "structural dispositions of the *habitus*, which infuse all aspects of the cultural practices and social relations characterizing a particular way of life" (Jones 1987: 119). Although the objectifications of ethnic identity are equally

important, my dissertation examines the processes, practices, and objects that make *Tejanos* a distinct cultural identity.

My examination of the relationships between the acequias and the colonial settlers in Chapter Four served as my point of departure from previous research in *Tejano* identity. As discussed, a common theme explored in *Tejano* identity studies is the social integration forged between the *Isleños* and presidial families and the development of a distinct social hierarchy as a result of their shared economic, political, and cultural values shaped by the conditions of the frontier. In this narrative settlers adapted Spanish institutions like the s*istema de castas* to the frontier and reordered the community's social hierarchy, which in part defined the community's identity. In my analysis I too examined an Old World institution, the acequia, to examine the ways in which they were meaningful in establishing the social hierarchies that were important in defining the character of the colonial community. Unlike previous interpretations, my examination of the acequia provided a new interpretation of this phenomenon by highlighting the process in which the community, the acequia, and social institutions interacted to create the practices that were central to establishing social hierarchies.

Through Spanish water laws, the *sistema de castas*, and prescribed rules of colonial settlement, the irrigation systems in colonial San Antonio helped to integrate the *Isleños* and the presidial families and establish the villa's prominent families who used the acequia as a source of social power reaffirmed through daily practices in the community. The *pobladores'* commodification of water rights and the various other strategies utilized by the *cabildo* to maintain the exclusivity of the San Pedro Acequia and to prevent the Adaesanos' settlement represent the objectified practices that created class separation through the relationships between structures, subjects and objects. The acequia worked within these relationships to produce social class, but as an essential and

unavoidable component of everyday life and the landscape, they also organized space and habituated the community. They influenced how the community moved throughout the city, they determined the spatial boundaries of the community, they shaped their land plots, they dictated how and when fields could be worked, and they were the community's source of drinking water and water for all daily tasks. In short, interaction between the community and the acequias played roles in structuring normal ways of being in *Béxar* that included concepts as basic as irrigating fields to as complex as social class and social power. The community objectified these practices within complex webs of subject-object relationships that also lent to the legitimacy of the *cabildo*'s power and reified the *pobladores'* social status.

The normalized, yet clearly present social power within the relationship between the acequias and the elite citizens took many forms, some as obvious as the commodification of water rights. Others took more naturalized forms that included yearly maintenance schedules and other forms of management that positioned the community within a covert land tenure system under the *cabildo*. The *cabildo* conducted these management practices through administrative strategies to impose its power, but also worked within a system that only recognized (but also ignored) official grants, legal titles, and viceregal orders. This "institutionalized materiality" produced power exclusively at the administrative level and reproduced status among those within the political administration (Miller 2005: 20). On another level, the acequias distributed the intentions of the elite citizens among the community through controlling modes of production, ensuring monopolization, and displacing the Adaesanos. Similarly, the acequias helped to politicize the landscape as the *cabildo's* authority flowed across the landscape through their control of the San Pedro Acequia and was integrated into daily practices through their enforcement of water laws. In this way, the acequias distributed the politics of the *cabildo* and the elite citizens who comprised the town council throughout the landscape in ways that materialized authority and reproduced social status.

While less overt and much more mundane than the acequias, the material record from the eighteenth century deposits at the Spanish Governor's Palace also provides a good example of how my approach is different from past examinations of identity during the period. In many ways the archaeological record is limiting, and the dearth of archaeological data from the time period makes it impossible to compare *Isleño* and presidial households and difficult to interpret differences in social class. Although the archaeological record may never reveal the moment when *Isleños* and *agregados* coalesced into a discrete entity, the evidence from the Spanish Governor's Palace does depict humble material conditions that were likely common across the community in the eighteenth century. According to most accounts the presidial captains profited from the soldiers at the presidio, but the modest material remains at the *Casa del Capitán* and the poor conditions reported in the archival record indicate that all *Béxareño*s, including the presidial captains, relied on limited supplies as well as on indigenous goods and technologies in everyday domestic life. Interpreted through an approach based in materiality this evidence provides insight into how and why *Béxareño*s adopted distinctly local material practices that in turn made up the self-conscious expressions of difference that define ethnic identity. Although many of the items found in the archaeological record reflect indigenous traditions, in practice they represent a synthesis of the specific historical, institutional, social, and environmental conditions of the frontier community. *Béxareño*s utilized Goliad Ware ollas, but they filled them in the acequias, they used stone tool technologies to make gunflints for their muskets, they used iron comales and iron pots to cook corn and beef produced by indigenous people at the missions, and they adopted and adapted indigenous methods of stock management and butchering practices to develop a unique cattle economy that in many ways defined the character of the community well into the nineteenth century. Unlike previous interpretations that suggest that Tejano identity was constructed through structural adaptations to frontier conditions, my position highlights the material conditions of the frontier and

proposes distinct practices that were developed through the processes of structuring the structures that are implicit to subject formation.

As suggested above, authors trace the origins of a broader Tejano identity to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and attributed it to Tejanos' sense of autonomy as frontier residents and their reactions to the Bourbon Reforms and the Mexican War of Independence. In this narrative Tejanos pursued economic and political autonomy against increasingly restrictive colonial policies in the late eighteenth century, but ultimately remained loyal to the Crown during the Casas Revolt in 1811. Many Tejanos abandoned their Royalist allegiances less than two years later during the Gutiérrez–Magee Expedition and the Battle of Medina when the revolution returned to Texas with American aide and ambitions that in some cases more accurately reflected Tejano interests. In this example Tejano identity was forged out of the pursuit of self-interests and efforts for self-preservation during periods of change when confronted with restrictive economic policies. The sum of *Béxareño*s actions "reflected local imperatives," and as a result they became an "intermediary group" between competing national and international interests (Poyo et al. 1996: 29).

Although my conclusions closely align with past agency-centered analyses, the archaeological evidence from the Delgado Cistern and the Núñez-Arocha Middens provide an alternative perspective that grounds these identity shifts in the material culture. Both Clemente Delgado and Francisco Arocha were *Isleños* descendants who served on the *cabildo* and were deeply involved in the development of the region's cattle economy. Assumedly acting in their personal interests, these influential *Béxareño*s also supported the American filibusters in the Battle of Medina and as a result, were respectively exiled and executed. While their motives are unclear, their household assemblages are largely defined by stability and exhibit many of the same characteristics as the Spanish Governor's Palace assemblages. Still, foreign goods are also relatively common in both assemblages suggesting that the Delgado and

Arocha households introduced new goods into their homes and likely adopted new practices. Evidence of tea sets and other English tablewares suggest a host of rituals and practices associated with tea consumption and the emergence of consumer culture in the eighteenth century. Objects like iron pots and scissors may have replaced indigenous technologies like bone tempered pots and lithic tools and inspired new practices, and goods like spoons and forks may have modified existing daily domestic practices, while items like the toothbrush may have introduced an entirely new practice all together. Many of these goods like the toothbrush, the fork, the tea sets and various other personal items speak to ideas of individuality that were the cornerstone of the Enlightenment, the American Revolution, and Manifest Destiny. These items are relatively rare within the archival and archaeological records, but their introduction to the frontier was likely meaningful during a period when Enlightenment-influenced ideas were inspiring revolutions in Europe and in the New World.

These two *Tejano* families sought out foreign goods and welcomed new practices into their households, and whether they participated directly or indirectly in the illicit trade market, the evidence suggests that these *Tejano* households pursued and welcomed change. As suggested, change was balanced by stability and these families' efforts to introduce new material practices while embracing locally established traditions provides a nuanced perspective into the ways in which *Tejanos* may have acted in their own self-interests as well as evidence of subtle efforts for self-preservation. The archaeological records from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries case study sites offer new insight into *Tejano* agency and suggest that *Tejanos* deliberately constructed their own material worlds that further differentiated *Tejanos* from Central Mexicans while maintaining certain local practices that distinguished the frontier settlements. *Tejanos'* adoption of foreign goods and their continued use of local goods and technologies were specific to the varied contexts of the era and the frontier communities, and the goods and practices *Tejanos* chose to bring into their households were clearly integral to the processes that helped to define the region's identity.

According to past authors, *Tejanos´* role as an intermediary group intensified during the Mexican Period as *Tejanos* became caught between an emerging Mexican national project and expanding American market forces. In this role Tejanos served as "cultural brokers" between Anglo-American colonists and the Mexican State which "set into motion a variety of shifts in Tejano identity and social structures affecting Tejanos' place in the world around them" (Ramos.: 81). In these analyses authors suggest that Tejanos negotiated changes in nationalism, economic structures, and the household with "locally established cultural and ideological practices" to "reconfigure their notions of [identity]" (ibid.: 7-8). Although social institutions, economic conditions, and political structures as the objectifications of ethnic identity served as the foci of many of these studies (see Matovina 1995 and Tijerina 1994), others chose to emphasize interaction on the frontier in relation to an expanding nationalist project (Ramos 2008) and the tension between the emerging state and the expanding frontier market (Reséndez 2006) as the primary influences for social change during the Mexican Period. While these authors utilize varied approaches, they all relay the importance of the enduring characteristics that defined *Tejano* identity in the eighteenth century in the formation of *Tejano* identity during the Mexican Period.

The archaeological records from the Padrón-Cháves Midden, the Alamo Plaza collections, and the La Villita Earthworks depict a slightly different perspective, and although evidence of past material practices is present in all three assemblages, foreign goods largely define the archaeological record of the Mexican Period. This trend is most readily recognized by the high proportions of English ceramics in these deposits, but the exponential increase of goods in general probably more appropriately speaks to the variety of ways in which new goods and practices entered and influenced the household. Although it is tempting to attribute these changes to *Tejano* agency and their efforts to reshape their material world, the deluge of goods that appeared in households during the Mexican Period more appropriately speaks to the overwhelming intentions of American imperialism many *Tejanos* accepted.

Like the sites discussed above, the Padrón-Cháves family was influential throughout *Béxar's* history and although Francisco X. Cháves was not an original settler of the region, his lineage was impressive enough that he was able to immediately integrate into one of the more prominent families in the community. The Padrón-Cháves family was unlike the Delgado and Núñez-Arocha families and remained loyal to the Crown for the duration of the revolution and was able to quietly transition into the Mexican Period. In fact, the archival record suggests nothing but stability with the Padrón-Cháves family as they maintained their compound on the south east corner of the Main Plaza with little change during the Mexican Period. The archaeological record on the other hand is significantly different from the preceding decades and the sheer volume of foreign goods in all Mexican Period deposits suggests that *Tejanos* introduced a wide range of goods and practices into their households, which likely changed the community's self-perception. Although *Tejanos* clearly acted in their own interests as intermediaries between the Mexican nationalist project and rapidly expanding American imperialism, these forces also redefined the *frontera* and fractured the character of the region. Mexico's liberal colonization policies in the 1820s opened the door for the economic and cultural influences that served as the foundations for American imperialism to enter the frontier. In many ways these aspects of American imperialism influenced some *Tejanos* to support the efforts of American colonization and the Texas War of Independence, and although these influences may have leveraged *Tejano* political support, the sheer volume of new and foreign goods *Tejanos* encountered must have helped to change perceptions at the household level.

Andrés Reséndez appropriately situated his analysis of Tejano identity formation in the Mexican Period in the dialectic between the Mexican State and American market forces, or more generally, between intersecting concepts of power and agency. Of course these concepts are much more clearly recognized in the politics of the era, but these higher-level structural analyses tend to obscure how most individuals, families, and communities negotiated these influences in everyday life. Conversely, the

archaeological record reveals that the mundane goods that flooded the frontier market likely had significant effects on Tejano households. Concepts like object agency or Alfred Gell's abduction clarify the ways in which objects influenced Tejano households and suggest alternative ways in which social power was distributed across the frontier. As discussed in Chapter Four, abduction or object agency suggests that objects have the capability to extend and distribute the effects of one's agency over others (Miller 2005: 13). In this case, American commercial interests were integral to their expansionist motives and the goods and practices that American colonists introduced to the region were imbued with imperialist ideologies. Tejanos welcomed these influences into their households arguably more willingly than they accepted the colonists in the region, and these goods certainly disbursed new practices and new ideas more evenly throughout the community than the maneuverings of a few influential politicians.

Evidence from the archaeological record suggests that the deluge of new goods that Tejanos welcomed into their homes influenced a range of aspects of domestic life during a period when the frontier as a whole was being redefined. Although it is impossible to measure the effects of imported goods on the *Tejano* household, the relative abundance of items in the archaeological and archival records interpreted within the context of an emerging consumer culture indicates that the effects must have been significant. Furthermore, the concept of ideologically imbued goods appears all the more meaningful when viewed within the greater context of the Texas War of Independence when Tejano identity became fractured according to how different individuals and families perceived their futures on the frontier. Although it is clear that many acted in their self-interest, it is also evident that many Tejanos' interests, especially economic, were closely aligned with those of the American colonists. The flood of goods that entered the region were just as disruptive to the community as the American colonists were to the frontier, but were possibly more effective in altering perceptions of self because these new goods and practices worked from within the household and initiated change on a daily basis.

Future Work

My dissertation provides an alternative perspective into the development and evolution of *Tejano* identity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and as an analysis that favors the archaeological record it is fitting that I utilized a theoretical perspective based in materiality. However, my dissertation is just that, an alternative perspective that builds upon a wealth of literature on *Tejano* identity and in no way is this meant to be the definitive interpretation of the archaeological or historical records. Similarly, as discussed throughout my dissertation, theories of materiality have the ability to provide insightful analyses on scales as grand as the *acequias* and as ordinary as domestic refuse, suggesting that there is tremendous space for further work utilizing similar theoretical interpretations. Furthermore, despite a wealth of archaeological and archival data, there are almost no comparative analyses between the material records in the villa, missions, ranchos, and other frontier settlements.

Although the possibilities for research in *Tejano* identity and the archaeological record in *Béxar* are almost limitless there are distinct avenues of research related to my dissertation. The recent discoveries of Colonial and Mexican Era deposits at 41BX2088 located immediately south of the Spanish Governor's Palace represent additional comparative data that could help refine the chronology of the archaeological record in San Antonio and could provide new data to expand my current analysis. Unfortunately, the site report is still in production and the data were not available for my research. Similarly, Shawn Carlson's more recent and expanded investigation of lead-glazed ceramics in the region further confirms my conclusions that local ceramic traditions were integral to supplying local communities in the eighteenth century (Carlson et al. 2007). However, Carlson's studies have traditionally focused on missions and other indigenous contexts. Although there is still a lot left to sort out in terms of ceramic production, samples from domestic contexts within the villa should be added to this investigation to see if we can gain further insight into consumption and distribution of locally-made ceramics in the region.

Conclusion

My dissertation asks what objects and what material practices were integral to the formation of *Tejano* identity and how did they change over time? To answer these questions, I compared the material worlds of various *Tejano* families and individuals from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and explored how objects were enmeshed in the work of subject formation over time. In my dissertation, I presented the archaeological and archival data from three case study sites, the eighteenth century deposits at Spanish Governor's Palace (41BX179), the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries deposits at and the Delgado Cistern (41BX1753) and the Mexican Period Padrón-Cháves Midden and Siege of Béxar entrenchment (41BX1752) as well as a number of other related sites. The comparative analyses revealed that local traditions, technologies, and practices contributed to the establishment of a distinct regional identity in the early eighteenth century. Many aspects of this identity endured into the nineteenth century, although other aspects of identification began to shift due to the introduction of new material practices through an illicit trade network that also helped to forge a unified *Tejano* identity across frontier communities. Finally, the unprecedented amount of goods introduced to the frontier along with Anglo-American colonists during the Mexican Period exposed *Tejanos* to an array of new practices that fractured *Tejano* identity and reshaped the frontier.

Like previous studies, my dissertation is a diachronic analysis that conceptualizes *Tejano* identity as a shifting ethnic identity. This study however represents the first attempt to examine cultural change in San Antonio through the archaeological record and to identify the material correlates of a dynamic *Tejano* identity. Furthermore, my dissertation employs a theoretical perspective that prioritizes the material record and examines the ways that objects and material practices unconsciously habituated agents as the primary means by which *Tejanos* were socialized as social beings (Miller 2005: 5; 6). By bringing in the archaeological record and utilizing an alternative theoretical perspective my dissertation

presents an alternative view into *Tejano* identity formation and contributes to a rich scholarship in borderlands studies in Texas.

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